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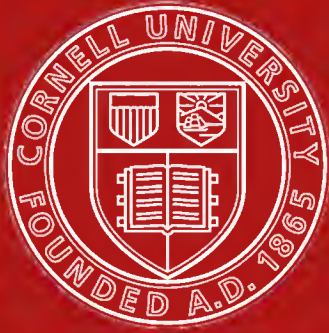
ON
THE RIMES IN THE AUTHENTIC POEMS
OF
WILLIAM DUNBAR.

INAUGURAL DISSERTATION
FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
SUBMITTED TO THE
PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF FREIBURG.

BY
HENRY BELLYSE BAILDON.

EDINBURGH:
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177

TO

PROFESSOR DR ARNOLD SCHRÖER

AT WHOSE SUGGESTION IT WAS UNDERTAKEN

THIS WORK

IS RESPECTFULLY AND GRATEFULLY DEDICATED BY

THE AUTHOR.

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ON THE RIMES IN THE AUTHENTIC POEMS OF WILLIAM DUNBAR.

By HENRY BELLYSE BAILDON, M.A. Cantab., F.R.S.E.

(From the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, April 3, 1899.)

INTRODUCTION.

It may well be thought that, in a field that has been so carefully reaped and garnered and gleaned by so many learned workers as have the works of the great Scottish poet, William Dunbar, there remained nothing still to be accomplished. Where such erudite students of Scottish literature as LAING, SMALL, GREGOR, and ÆNEAS MACKAY, and such an illustrious scholar as Professor SCHIPPER have laboured, and where even the poet's metrical forms have been the subject of careful investigation by Mr M'NEILL, it might be thought alike vain and presumptuous to attempt to follow. Yet it so happens, nevertheless, that there has never been a thorough investigation made of Dunbar's rimes with a view of throwing light on the phonology or, in more popular phrase, the pronunciation of his day. And yet, perhaps, no more suitable, interesting, and instructive subject could be found for such treatment than just this same William Dunbar.

In the first place, Dunbar is nothing if not a conscientious artist,—a man with a thorough appreciation of the value of technique, and with an excellent ear both for metric and phonetic effects. Without such an ear a man cannot be a poetic artist of the first rank, and it is marvellous how these gifts secure a man immortality, even when his thought is neither important nor original. And, on the other hand, the want of, or the occasional neglect to use, these gifts threaten the immortality of some of the greatest names. In WORDSWORTH, for instance, how often are we jarred by the toneless, musicless quality of his lines! and in BYRON's dramas how are we repelled by the harsh, dry *timbre* of his blank verse! Even the least cultured are sensitive on this point, as we gather from the felicitous cadence and clang of popular proverbs and sayings, and other evidences of the sensuous pleasure given to the young and uneducated by song and verse. At any rate, no one can read Dunbar at all without feeling convinced that he took a real pleasure,—perhaps the purest pleasure he had in his grumbling, mendicant existence (even as perhaps did his predecessor and model, the scamp VILLON)—in the rhythm and sonorous melody of his verses; and, at a time in his disreputable early career, when he would have unscrupulously robbed hen-roosts or pocketed spoons, or used the pulpit, like Chaucer's Pardoner, for the most sordid ends, he was in his art a purist of the first water. This quality is naturally an invaluable one for our purpose; and, if we except his very latest verse, where the instruction of his flock and not the production of poetry is his main object, one may safely rely on the conscientious work-

manship of Dunbar. So that, when we find a really bad rhyme in his poems, we may be well-nigh certain that the text is corrupt and that Dunbar never uttered the poem for complete in such a form.

If one is asked for absolute proof of this conviction, it is not easy to produce one, except on general grounds. So I would put the matter in the form of two propositions, neither of which can reasonably be doubted. The first is that Dunbar's *technical accomplishments* as a verse-writer were such, as witness his mastery of a great variety of metrical forms and his marvellous command of rimes (as shown, for instance, in the two concluding stanzas of his part of the "Flyting," where he has no less than thirty-two rimes, some of them dissyllabic, in each stanza), that he could never really have been at a loss to find a correct rime; and so, if he used them, must have done so from pure carelessness, which is clearly not his characteristic. In the second place, we are really not able to *convict* Dunbar of a *palpably bad* rime, because, in the instances where he is *apparently* guilty, there are usually indications of corruption in the text. I do not, of course, maintain that all Dunbar's rimes are *exact* and *perfect*, a statement which would probably be true of no poet that ever wrote. Indeed, anyone who has given any attention to verse-effects must know that an *occasional imperfection* gives a curious charm in the hands of a master. But it must be slight, and cannot extend to discord in *consonantal* sound. I cite just two cases of apparently false rimes. The first is in Dunbar's "Dirge to the King at Stirling," in the couplet (41. 9, 10):—

"O 3e eremitis and hankersaidilis
That takis your pennance at your tablis."

Even if my conjecture of *hanker saiblis*=black anchorites be not correct, *saidlis*=*cells*, *hermitages* makes no sense, and it would be too unjust to Dunbar to suppose that he wrote both a bad rime and nonsense at the same time.

The second instance is perhaps not quite so conclusive: still there is every appearance of some error having crept into the text. It occurs in the courtly and beautiful poem, "To the Princess Margaret on her arrival at Holyrood" in the following couplet:—

"Rejoysing from the sone beme
Welcum of Scotland to be Quene."

On this it may be said (see Professor SCHIPPER's note, p. 92) that there is *some* corruption of the text here, so that if we are not convinced that *beme* is *wrong*, we have no certainty that it is *right*; and I venture the conjecture that the original word was *schene*, which gives a rather better sense, as though the queen came from the sunshine of the sunny south—sunny as compared with Scotland. Further, even supposing the reading "*beme*" to be correct, the poem is not *provably* Dunbar's, so that in any case he cannot be clearly *convicted* of a false rime in this instance.

And, apart even from these arguments, I must really claim the right of an *expert* in poetry, in poetical technique, and in literary criticism generally [being a critic and verse-writer myself of at least twenty-five years standing] to speak with authority on

the literary and technical qualities of Dunbar's verse ; and when it is borne in mind that my own high opinion of Dunbar's technical excellence and conscientious workmanship, if independently formed, coincides with that of such unimpeachable authorities as Sheriff MACKAY, Professor SCHIPPER, and others, it would surely be a *reductio ad absurdum* of scientific scepticism to ask for further *proof*.

If we only had a fair copy of Dunbar's original MS. a mass of uncertainties would disappear. For we can seldom be quite certain whether the spelling is (1) Dunbar's own, or (2) that of his own time, or (3) the Scotch and not the (4) English spelling. These uncertainties are introduced in the case of MSS. by the scribe, or in that of print by the compositor. Now in those times those persons do not seem to have been either very careful or conscientious or skilful ; and that in the chaotic state of ME. spelling complicated with the almost as chaotic MSc. spelling, and possibly also with attempts at compromise between the two, creates elements of difficulty enough.

There is fortunately one other reliable and, within certain limits, fixed foothold for us in this examination, considered as an independent investigation, and that is the pronunciation of modern Scotch (NSc.), with which, owing to my long residence in Scotland, I may claim some familiarity. And the Scotch with which I am most familiar is, fortunately, locally Dunbar's Scotch, not BURNS's west country Scotch, but the Lowland, one may almost say Lothian Scotch of SCOTT and STEVENSON, who is held by those competent to judge to write particularly good Scotch, and who makes the attempt to write phonetically, especially in the volume entitled "Underwoods," where he gives a "Table of Common Scottish Vowel Sounds," which appears to me easily intelligible and quite accurate. For more scientific and historic treatment of these sounds one must naturally have recourse to the works of SWEET, ELLIS, and MURRAY in English, and to such modern investigators as Professor LUICK in Germany, and the Dissertations of Dr CURTIS, "On the Middle Scotch Romana Clariodus" (Anglia, vols. xvi, xvii), and of Dr GERKEN, on "Die Sprache des Bishofs Douglas von Dunkeld" (Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner, 1898).

While one can know how a Scottish word is pronounced to-day in the very district and city where Dunbar wrote and spoke, there remain still two elements to be supplied before the problem of fixing the phonology of Dunbar and his time can be attempted. The first is a knowledge of the original sounds of the words, *i.e.*, the pronunciation of the vowels, diphthongs, and consonants in the language from which his vocabulary is derived, *viz.*, Anglo-Saxon (Old English, OE.), Old French (OF.), Old Norse (ON.), Latin (Lat.), Old Irish (OI.), Dutch (Du.), etc., and the second that of the corresponding sounds in contemporary Middle English (ME.). Now the former, thanks to the labours of such scholars as SIEVERS, KLUGE, SWEET, SKEAT and others, are fortunately fairly well established, and affords us in this inquiry our first point of attachment so to speak. If we then, so to speak, make fast one end of our line to the original sound and lead the other to the corresponding modern Scotch sound, we know then that the path of this sound through its successive changes must pass through these two points, and

we know also that it will not usually deviate very far from what we may call the "line of least resistance" between the two positions, so that, if we suppose this to be represented by a straight line joining the two points, we may, to continue the metaphor, draw our line tight, and have thus approximately fixed the path of the sound change. Then it becomes the function of phonetics to show what this "line of least resistance" really is. And the principle on which this is to be determined is obviously one of the place and mouth-position in which the two sounds are formed and uttered, together with the postulate that sounds not only do not suddenly travel from a certain mouth-place or mouth-position to another far removed or widely different, but must of necessity, when these have become far separated, have passed through some, if not all, the intermediate stages. Such changes, for example, as now distinguish the English pronunciation of vowels from the Germanic, Italian, or Continental sounds for the same vowels, *cannot* have taken place *per saltum*, but *must* have passed through intermediate stages. Our use of the vowel *i*, for instance, as equivalent to Ger. *ai*, *cannot* have come in suddenly, because it involves too great a change in the mouth-place in which the sound is formed. And the same is true of the other principal changes in our vowel and consonantal sounds. Still it is not to be assumed that because a sound does not change *suddenly* it may not change *quickly*, for the intermediate position may be one of, so to speak, unstable equilibrium; it may be more difficult or less agreeable than the two positions between which it mediates.

These, of course, are the commonplaces of phonetics, of which, however, it is useful to be reminded in connection with this investigation.

The other element of which I have spoken, viz., the contemporary pronunciation of the corresponding words in ME., does not unfortunately rest on so secure a basis, there being still room, in spite of all the labours of the eminent scholars already mentioned and of such recent investigators as LUICK, for doubt, not so much perhaps as to the path taken by sound-changes, as to the time they took place and especially the moment of their complete transmutation to the present accepted pronunciation. Hence arises the possibility that this inquiry, taken together with such an admirable and thorough investigation as that of Dr F. J. CURTIS "On the Rimes of the Middle Scotch Romance Clariodus" (Anglia, vols. xvi and xvii), to which I am infinitely indebted for its excellent method, not to speak of its valuable results, may reflect some light on the Middle English of Dunbar's time. All the more, naturally, is this the case, in that Dunbar often writes what must be called ME. and not MSc., just as BURNS wrote in standard eighteenth century English, as well as in the Ayrshire dialect of that time.

As Dr CURTIS's article "On the Rimes of the Middle Scottish Romance Clariodus" treats that work exactly on the same lines as I propose to treat Dunbar, and treats also of much the same period, it will not be necessary to handle the results with the same elaboration as Dr CURTIS has done. My results must of necessity either agree or disagree with his, and in neither case is it likely that any elaborate argument will be

necessary. I did not, indeed, undertake the investigation with this idea of making any important discoveries, but, firstly, with the modest ambition of rounding off the work done on Dunbar by the Scottish Text Society and by the edition of Professor SCHIPPER, by the compilation of a Rime-Index, which had not before been exhaustively made. I have used Professor SCHIPPER's edition, as embodying the results of previous workers, along with his own, and my references are to page and line of his work. I have confined myself strictly to poems which seem undoubtedly authentic, because I thought it possible that this might furnish a criterion by which some of the doubtful poems might ultimately be tested. But as that involves a separate rime-index for these doubtful poems, which I have not been able yet to prepare, this criterion cannot at present be easily applied, except to quite short pieces. I do not propose in the present instance to apply it, but the index will be essential to whoever wishes to employ such a criterion. Another use of the index will be to assist in clearing up doubtful readings where rimes are involved, for, as I have already said, Dunbar is so conscientious an artist that we can rely on the purity of his rimes to an even unusual extent, certainly more than in Clariodus, who has a formidable number of false rimes (CURTIS, § 554) and very probably more than in Douglas. And on this account I have reckoned all words riming with the same refrain-word as riming with each other.

The plan of the index, following that of Dr CURTIS, is to classify the rimes under the original vowel sounds in OE. or ON. so that OF. and Latin and other words of non-Germanic origin only appear in so far as they rime with these Germanic words.

I wish to take this opportunity of very cordially thanking Professor KARL LUICK of the University of Graz for his kind assistance in seeing this work through the press, and in making many very valuable suggestions. At the same time, I take the full responsibility for any faults the work may still possess.

RIME-INDEX ACCORDING TO GERMANIC VOWEL-SOUNDS.

A-

§ 1. Not followed by *g* or *w*, rimes with

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a) itself.
 <i>forsaik</i> : <i>taik</i>, 83, 52. 253, 1. <i>baik</i> : <i>saik</i>, 72, 35.
 <i>schaik</i> : <i>quaik</i>, 150, 9. <i>tail</i> (OE. <i>talū</i>) : <i>nychtin-</i>
 <i>gale</i>, 347, 29.
 <i>gaip</i> : <i>laip</i>, 132, 100.
 <i>gaittis</i> : <i>schaittis</i>, 85, 8. <i>lakkis</i> : <i>takkis</i>, 77, 5.
 <i>undertaker</i> : <i>balletmaker</i>, 246, 87.
 <i>name</i> : <i>schame</i>, 85, 5, etc., <i>lame</i> : <i>schame</i>, 87, 53.
 <i>schame</i> : <i>came</i> (s) 86, 39.
 <i>same</i> : <i>lame</i>, 126, 17. <i>sam</i> : <i>gam</i>, 202, 11.
 <i>cravis</i> : <i>wavis</i>, 281, 56. <i>crave</i> : <i>forgaif</i>, 365, 145.</p> <p>b) OE. <i>æ</i>.
 <i>mak</i> : <i>bak</i>, 202, 17. <i>brak</i>, 377, 79. <i>spak</i>. 79, 1.
 <i>nychtingail</i> : <i>small</i>, 350, 114.
 <i>gait</i> : <i>lait</i>, 316, 26. <i>crave</i>, <i>graif</i>, 365, 145.
 <i>said</i> : <i>maid</i>, 125, 46. <i>pak</i> : <i>bak</i>, 269, 58.</p> <p>c) OE. <i>æ</i> + <i>g</i>.
 <i>fare</i> (= <i>mien</i>) : <i>fair</i> (adj.) 111, 225.
 <i>phane</i> : <i>brain</i> : <i>fane</i>, 266, 83.</p> <p>d) OE. <i>ā</i>.
 <i>have</i> : <i>laif</i>, 214, 90., etc., <i>gaip</i> : <i>raip</i>, 84, 75. 83, 61.
 <i>aip</i> : <i>graip</i> : <i>saip</i> : 206, 6. <i>cair</i> : <i>rair</i>, 225, 114.
 <i>nychtingale</i> : <i>hale</i> : 370, 34.
 <i>lame</i> : <i>schame</i> : <i>hame</i>, 87, 53.
 <i>name</i> : <i>hame</i>, 86, 18. <i>schame</i> : <i>hame</i>, 86, 17.
 <i>fair</i> (v) : <i>sair</i> : <i>thair</i>, 71, 19. <i>wair</i> (s) <i>lair</i>, 194, 76.
 <i>„</i> (v) : <i>mair</i>, 71, 17. <i>fare</i> (s) : <i>mair</i>, 100, 222.
 <i>cair</i> : <i>mair</i>, 308, 44. <i>rair</i>, 225, 114.</p> <p>e) OF. or Lat. <i>a</i>.
 <i>haif</i> : <i>raif</i> : 214, 90.</p> | <p><i>gaip</i> : <i>chaip</i> : 84, 76.
 <i>gaittis</i> : <i>debaittis</i> : <i>estaittis</i> : 85, 8.
 <i>„</i> : <i>stait</i>, 316, 28.
 <i>schame</i> : <i>fame</i>, 85, 4.
 <i>name</i> : <i>fame</i>, 85, 7.
 <i>schame</i> : <i>clame</i>, 86, 32.
 <i>„</i> : <i>proclaime</i>, 87, 67, etc.
 <i>name</i> : <i>lame</i> : <i>proclaime</i> : 87, 53.
 <i>„</i> : <i>shame</i> : <i>blame</i>, 87, 60.
 <i>„</i> : <i>„</i> : <i>defame</i>, 85, 11.
 <i>fare</i> (s) : <i>repair</i>, 111, 223.
 <i>spair</i> : <i>foreclair</i>, 301, 67.
 <i>„</i> : <i>preclair</i>, 301, 67.
 <i>nychtingaile</i> : <i>vaill</i>, 347, 28.</p> <p>f) OF. <i>al</i> or <i>au</i>, Lat.—<i>al</i>.
 <i>haif</i> : <i>saiff</i>, 214, 90.
 <i>knaiff</i> : <i>saiff</i>, 205, 43.
 <i>have</i> : <i>saiff</i>, 266, 98.
 <i>nychtingaile</i> : <i>oriental</i>, 370, 26.
 <i>„</i> : <i>scale</i>, 370, 28.</p> <p>g) OF. <i>ai</i>.
 <i>nychtingaile</i> : <i>travaill</i>, 347, 31. 370, 34.
 <i>„</i> : <i>faill</i>, 348, 35.
 <i>„</i> : <i>await</i>, 351, 17.
 <i>„</i> : <i>battale</i>, 370, 34.</p> <p>h) OF. <i>ei</i>.
 <i>phane</i> : <i>pane</i>, 266, 95.
 <i>haif</i> : <i>persaif</i>, 279, 17.</p> |
|--|--|

§ 2. It is, I think, impossible to gainsay Dr CURTIS's conclusion that *a* in open syllables was in most instances already lengthened, or in some more strictly speaking half-long, in the usage of Dunbar; and in these instances had already an *ē*-sound, and that this lengthening and change of sound is usually indicated by the spelling *ai* instead of the ME. *a* + *cons* + *e* which Dunbar or his scribes and printers also use. There are, however, apparent exceptions, and particularly when *a* is followed by *k*. Thus such rimes as *lakkis* : *takkis*, *mak* : *bak*, *brak* : *spak*, taken together with their NSc. pronunciation, which is undoubtedly *ā* in the modern Lothian and most other Scotch dialects, point to the survival of the *a*-sound in these words. But again the rimes and spelling *forsaik* : *taik*, *baik* : *saik*, show *taik* to have sometimes the *e*-sound, as was probably also the case with *mak* when spelt *maik* (see CURTIS, § 5). It seems as though the *k* had a tendency to check the lengthening (see CURTIS, § 6) [GERKEN, § I. 4], and thus to prevent the change to *e*, it being, of course, almost an axiom that a long vowel changes much more readily than a short one. The other consonants, especially

the liquids, encourage lengthening and vowel-change, so that we find no such instances in their case. I am inclined also to think that Dunbar still distinguished between $\bar{a}$ and $\check{a}$, though probably only in quantity, the latter being probably only half-long with him. I gather this from the fact of the *comparative* infrequency of rimes between $\bar{a}$ and $\check{a}$, and that most even of these are before r , a consonant which has an undoubted tendency to give length to a syllable. So that *fair, fare, cair*, etc. may be regarded as full long and thus form perfect rimes for *sair, mair*, etc.*

On the whole, the evidence seems in consonance with the view of Professor KLUGE (P.G. 1. 877), that the change from a to e was completed early in Scotland, as it appears to be well established in Dunbar's time.

According to Professor LUICK (*Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, Band cii. Heft 1-2, pp. 52 and 63) the originally short vowels had begun to lengthen to a sort of half-long quantity in the Northumbrian dialect as early as the second half of the tenth century. But how long this would take to spread to the Lothians, if it spread in this manner at all, it is impossible to say.

§ 3. A + G rimes with

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a) itself.
lawis : sawis, 317, 36.
(?) flawis (OE. flazu) : lawis, 317, 39.</p> <p>b) OE. $\bar{a}$ + w.
draw : knaw, 276, 32.
„ : blaw, 166, 226.</p> <p>c) OE. a or ea + ll.
draw : staw, 276, 32.</p> | <p>draw : waw, 166, 228.
„ : aw (NE. all), 166, 226.
law : waw, 317, 38.
sawis : wawis, 317, 39.</p> <p>d) Lat. au.
lawis : cawis, 317, 37.
sawis : „ 317, 36.</p> |
|--|--|

The rimes in b) confirm the lengthening of $\check{a}u$ (from OE. ag) in MSc. (CURTIS, § 27).

§ 4. A + W

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a) with OE. a + g (see § 3).</p> | <p>b) with OE. eall.
staw : knaw : 276, 33.</p> |
|--|---|

Although, as we shall have reason to observe later on, the influence of the Scotch w on a following vowel seems to be different from that of the English w , its influence on a preceding is the same, *i.e.*, just the same as an u , giving an au -sound (see § 46).

A :

1. Followed by Nasals.

§ 5. (a) followed by -nd rimes with

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a) itself.
landis : bandis : strandis, 104, 57. strandis, 271, 14.
land : stand : hand, 191, 5.
landit : blandit (NE. flattered) : handit, 262, 76.
band : hand : strand : stand, 376, 34.
brand : understand, 351, 1.
brand : land, 203, 9.</p> <p>b) OF. and & ant.
stand : garland, 193, 45.</p> | <p>upaland : garland, 203, 19.
„ : variand, 328, 41.
handis : gyandis (OF. geant), 126, 21.</p> <p>c) Sc pres : part : in - and.
understand : brand : kindilland, 351, 1.
hand : serwand, 239, 4. etc.</p> <p>d) ON. önd.
landis : wandis (ON. vöndr), 104, 63.</p> |
|--|---|

* I am inclined to maintain this position in the face of Dr GERKEN's remark which seems to bear on it [§ 6. 3], to the effect that one must not ascribe any influence to r in preserving the quantity of the $\bar{a}$. It is quite possible that Dr GERKEN has ample materials to prove his point, but he does not produce them in his thesis.

There is here no sign of the dropping of the *d*, as is so common in NSc. in certain words, especially *hand* and *stand*, as in the phrase to "*stan' yer han'*" = *stȝn yær hȝn* = to pay your share of the reckoning. In other words, such as *strand*, *band*, *bland*, and even *land*, the *d* is often pronounced. Nor am I so clear as Dr GERKEN appears to be as to the length of the vowel. The *syllable* is doubtless to be reckoned long, but that is due rather to the consonants than the vowel.

§ 6. (β) a + nt. rimes with

a) Fr. ant. stant : novaunt, 88, 9.

| b) wantoun : dantoun : pantoun, 124, 24.

§ 7. (γ) a + ng rimes with

a) itself.

gang : wrang : lang : rang, 71, 29.

„ : amang : hang : strang, 170, 274.

lang : amang, 305, 32.

„ : strang : stang (s) (NE. sting) : fang (s)
(OE. fang), 380, 10.

amang : dang : (praet. of ding, ON. dengja) : owt-
sprang, 225, 111. wrang, 256, 3.

wrang : lang : gang : rang, 71, 27.

„ : amang : fang (v) (OE. fōn) : sang : belang :
wrang, 257, 3.

Dunbar,* like Douglas [GERKEN, § 1. 3)], writes these rimes consistently with an *a* (and not, like Clariodus, with *o*), just as BURNS and modern writers of Scotch dialect do.

§ 8. (δ) a + n or nn rimes

a) with itself.

man : wan : 132, 106.

„ : dirry dan (?) : 40, 60.

„ : than 78, 27.

„ : gan : 197, 164. began, 235, 11.

„ : kan (s) : 197, 173.

„ : can, 230, 29. 235, 3.

man : swan, 235, 19.

„ : ran, 236, 23. 347, 27.

„ : St. An, 236, 31.

„ : clan, 261, 32.

than : wan, 235, 15.

„ : began, 235, 11.

„ : can, 235, 3.

§ 9. (ε) a + nk

a) with self or OE., etc., o :

| ronk : bonk : donk : thonk, 106, 99.

This spelling with *o* appears also in *ronk*, *donk*, and *slonk* in Douglas [GERKEN, § 1. 3)].

§ 10. (η) a + m or mb rimes

a) with itself.

lam (lamb) : rame, 126, 17. 35, 3. am, 201, 3.
sam, 202, 11.

lam : dam (?) 202, 15. dram † (?) 202, 23.

came (OE. camb) : schame : name, 86, 39.

As remarked by Dr GERKEN in regard to Douglas, the vowel in *lam* (=lamb) remains short in spite of the combination *mb*, which has a lengthening influence. But this is not surprising, considering how readily, especially in Scotland, the *b* was dropped.

* When I say Dunbar I mean, of course, his scribe or printer, and so in the case of the others.

† This word *dram* (cf. CURTIS, § 16) seems also connected with *drumlē* (NSc. = turbid, dark) and very possibly with *doldrums* through Icel. *draums*, Gen. from *draumr* = melancholy, a dream (OE. *drēam*) with which *dram* may be directly connected. The connection is not difficult to trace, as a person in a dreamy mood or deeply sunk in thought has usually a serious, even melancholy, expression.

§ 11. 2. A : Followed by other consonants rimes with

- | | |
|---|--|
| a) itself.
clappit : happit, 276, 19.
b) OE. æ :
agast : fast, 136, 34.
gather : father, 264, 37.
„ : hadder, 266, 85.
clappit : trappit, 276, 19.
c) ME. a : wrack : frack, 282, 76.
d) OF. or Lat. a.
ass : pass : 331, 5. terge : lerge : berge : chairge,
108, 183. | ass : vanitas, 387, 8.
last (OE. latost) : past, 43, 79.
e) OE. ea & eo.
at : 3et, 114, 17.
rax (OE. raxan = to reach) : wax : 377, 66.
„ : sax, 377, 71.
f) Latin e.
last (latost) : est, 368, 46. |
|---|--|

§ 12. There seems little to be observed on the *ǣ* in closed syllables in addition to what Dr CURTIS has already said.

The word *man*, which in NSc. has usually the pronunciation *mon*, appears in Dunbar's time to be still *man*, and I have noticed a curious distinction in the Lothian dialect, in that any one using the word *man* for *husband* says "man" (Ger. mann), but in using the word generally = NE. *man*, says *mon*. The spelling of the rimes *ronk* : *bonk* : *donk* : *thonk* suggest, although they cannot be said to prove, the presence of an open o-sound in these words, and this is rather supported by the fact that a similar spelling occurs in Douglas (see above, § 9). If it be maintained that *terge* : *lerge* : etc. is an instance of the northern *er* + *cons* = *ar* + *cons*, it can be replied that this is not the case in Scottish, when the following consonant is palatal, and indeed is only clearly provable in the case of *er* + *k*, as surviving in the modern *clark* for *clerk*. The NSc. pronunciation of *large* and *charge* = *lēрге*, *chēрге*, also bears out my view (see also § 30).

Ā-

Final ā or ā + h.

§ 13. 1. (a) written with a, rimes with

- | | |
|--|---|
| a) itself.
Sna : twa, 205, 45. therfra, 263, 9. ga : sla, (ON.ā) 195, 106.
gais : tais, 269, 54. gais : strais, (ON.ā) 176, 342. | b) Lat. a. Maria : bla, 373, 30. fra, 373, 22. fa, 373, 38.
c) āp.
clais : gais, 140, 21. |
|--|---|

§ 14. (β) written with o, rimes with

- | | |
|--|--|
| a) itself.
ago : wo, 264, 21. also : ro, 96, 78. fo : wo, 42, 34. 280, 4. fo : tuo, 118, 1. mo, 280, 2.
fro : wo : go, 197, 166. | b) Lat. ō.
Apollo : sepulchro : go : so : wo : fo : mo, 382, 2 etc. |
|--|--|

The spelling with *o* is with Dunbar, as with Clariodus, commoner than with *a*, though not to the same degree, judging from what Dr CURTIS says in his article (§ 38), and is consistently carried out.

§ 15. 1. ā + n, rimes with

- | | |
|---|---|
| (a) (spelt with a) | |
| a) itself, allane : gane, 38, 26. tane (NE. taken) 290, 93. ane, 38, 26. ane : nane, 37, 5. | b) OF. ain, Lat. an. stane : soverayne, 371, 64. trayne, 371, 66. suffragane, 371, 68.
c) OF. ei. pane : flane, 265, 59. |

§ 16. (β) (spelt with o) rimes

a) with itself.

stone : allone, 42, 17. allone : none, 348, 46. tone
(NE. taken), 350, 102.
bone : allone, 350, 110. allone : gone, 244, 63.

b) Latin ðn

stone : dispone, 42, 49.
annone : postpone, 240, 28.

2. ā + m rimes with

a) OF. a and ai. hame : clame, 229. 1.

There is here also a clear distinction kept up between *o* and *a* spellings. The rimes with Fr. *ein* and *ain*, together with the spelling of *trayne*, *grayne*, etc., and the fact that *suffragane* is sometimes spelt *-ene* in the rime syllable, point, I think, to the fact that *ā + m* or *n* is already *ē*, or some intermediate sound that comes very near it. *Tane* = *taken* occurs once as *tone*, riming with *allone*, and this, along with its appearance in Clariodus and in Douglas, clearly shows it was an accepted form of the word, however derived. Dr CURTIS explains it as formed on a false analogy from apparently similar forms in which ME. *ō* corresponded to MSc. *ā* [see CURTIS, § 23. GERKEN, § 20, 2)]. The occurrence of *tone* here seems quite to dispose of BRANDL's argument (Anzfd. A., 10, 333).

§ 17. 3. ā + w rimes with

a) itself.

thrawis : crawis, 176, 345.
blawis : „ 225, 89.
raw (NE. row (s)) : haw (OE. haga), 173, 309.

b) OE. æ + w

crawis : mawis, 225, 89.

c) OE. ēaw, knawin : schawin (sceāwian), 355, 13.

d) a - + g (see § 3).

e) eall.

raw (s) : aw (NE. all), 173, 309.

blaw : waw, 166, 229.

raw : gaw (OE. gealla) : aw : haw, 173, 306.

sawlis (OE. sawol) rimes with Pawlis (Paul's)
and brawlis (brawls).

This form *schawin* from *scēawian* has been treated at great length by Dr CURTIS (§ 288, etc.); but the simple explanation of SWEET (HES., § 680) that the *e*-element was absorbed by the preceding consonantal sound commends itself more to me, especially when we remember that this preceding sound was palatalised by the influence of the *e*. It is even possible that, by a reversal of the process by which we get *tone*, the Scottish scribes have written *schaw* to represent ME. *schow*.

There seems little to notice here, unless it be the marked tendency in Scottish to go ahead of English in the dropping of the consonantal *l*-sound. I do not know whether this has been fully accounted for, but it may have been encouraged by French influence, which was strong in Scotland about this time.

§ 18. 4. ā before r or r + consonant rimes with

a) itself.

mair : sair : 71, 17. etc.
more : sore, 370, 49. hore (NE. old age), 371, 59.
mair : swair (NE. swore), 84, 86.

b) OE. ǣ (see § 1).

c) OE. āeg.

ar (= oar) : fare (adj.) (NE. fair) 89, 28.

fair : mair : 74, 5.

d) OE. ae + r.

mair : hair : 193, 48.

„ : war (v) (NE. were), 256, 10.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>mair : thair (ðær), 71, 15. 194, 68.</p> <p>e) OE. er.
mair : demair (NE. deemer), 308, 42.
„ : Thesaurair, 230, 20.</p> <p>f) OE. o. soir (OE. sār) : befoir, 43, 86. lord : scorde, 376, 55.
evermoir : befoir, 118, 20.
moir : befoir, 370, 49.
forelore : moir : befoir, 370, 49.</p> <p>g) OF. air or ar and Lat. ar.
air : mair, 193, 36. are : compare, 89, 87. preclare, 89, 26.</p> | <p>mair : compair, 84, 87. repair, 74, 2. 111, 223.
squair, 193, 48.</p> <p>hair (OE. hār, NE. old age) : squair, 106, 111.
193, 44.</p> <p>h) OF. or Lat. o.
lordis (OE. hlāford) : discordis : recordis, 227, 11.
lord : remord, 269, 42.
„ : accord, 315, 22.
„ : corde, 376, 52.
„ : deforde, 376, 53.</p> |
|---|--|

The MSc. *quhair* and *thair* do not come from the forms *hwær* and *pær*, but from *hwār* and *pār* [GERKEN, § 6. 6)]. The modern Scotch is not only often *whēr* and *thēr*, but even *whīr* and *thīr*. *Whīr* may be due to preceding *w* (see § 46), and *thīr* may have been influenced in turn by it. On the other hand, we have *whaur*, *whar*, and *whare* (BURNS), showing, in the first instance at least, the English *w*-influence, as we may call it (see § 46).

There can, I think, be no doubt that $\bar{a} + r = air$ is already sounded in MSc. *ēr* (LUICK, Untersuchungen, §§ 235, 260). For the spelling *ai* = *e* see Morsbach Gr., § 136, Anm. 3 f., and LUICK, Untersuch., §§ 359–61.

§ 19. For $\bar{a} + ht =$ OE. *āwiht*, *nāwiht* see *ōht* (§ 93).

§ 20. $\bar{a} + st$ rimes with

- | | |
|---|--|
| a) OE. <i>eo</i> almoist : loist, 76, 61. | b) OF. <i>o</i> and Lat. <i>o</i> . almoist : indoist : coist, 76, 61. |
|---|--|

I take the syllable *moist* in *almoist* to come from OE. *māst*, as neither this nor the Scottish *maist* can come from OE. *mæst*.

Æ-

§ 21. 1. Not followed by *g*, rimes with

- a) itself, *satt* : *fatt* : *that*, 73, 6.

Æ :

§ 22. rimes with

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a) itself, <i>gaif</i> : <i>haif</i>, 359, 25. <i>blek</i> : <i>fek</i> : <i>sek</i> (NE. sack), 116, 85.</p> <p>b) OE. <i>æ</i>.
<i>mast</i> : <i>blast</i>, 136, 27. <i>edder</i> : <i>ledder</i>, 177, 368.</p> <p>c) OE. <i>ā</i> (see § 18).
<i>mad</i> : <i>sad</i>, 304, 11. <i>gaif</i> : <i>laif</i>, 287, 46. <i>weir</i> : <i>beir</i>, 129, 33.</p> <p>d) OE. <i>a</i> - (see § 1).</p> <p>e) OF. <i>ei</i>. <i>haif</i> : <i>persaif</i>, 279, 17. <i>dais</i> : <i>prais</i>, 205, 46.</p> <p>f) OF. <i>au</i>. <i>haif</i> : <i>saiff</i>, 214, 90. 235, 18.</p> <p>g) OE. <i>ē</i>. <i>bak</i> : <i>quhattrak</i> (NE. what reck), 140, 30. <i>feddir</i> (OE. <i>ē</i>) : <i>eddir</i> (OE. <i>ae</i>), 283, 8.
<i>brak</i> : <i>frak</i>, 111, 241.
<i>neck</i> : <i>blek</i> : 82, 34. <i>hed</i> (<i>had</i>) : <i>sted</i> (<i>s</i>) 126, 11.</p> | <p>h) OF. or Lat. <i>ē</i>.
<i>blek</i> : <i>effek</i>, 82, 31. <i>weir</i> (NE. war) : <i>prisoneir</i>, 116, 110.</p> <p>k) OF. <i>air</i> - <i>ar</i>.
<i>bair</i> (adj.) : <i>repair</i>, 171, 281.</p> <p>l) OE. <i>eo</i> war (OE. (ge) <i>waer</i>) : <i>far</i>, 36, 50. <i>ar</i>, 350, 93.</p> <p>m) OE. <i>a</i> : (see § 11).</p> <p>n) OF. <i>a</i>.
<i>past</i> : <i>fast</i>, 81, 2. 118, 18.</p> <p>o) OE. <i>eaht</i>. ON. <i>ātr</i>.
<i>rawchtir</i> : <i>lawchtir</i> : <i>slawchtir</i>, 222, 37.</p> <p>p) OE. <i>æ</i> + <i>g</i>. (see § 23).</p> |
|--|---|

This is a very curious instance in which *rafter* (OE. *ræfter*) has been confused with words from OE. *eaht*, and where the scribe or printer has conformed it to the spelling of the other words, while it seems more likely that *lawchter* and *slawchter* had the *f*-sound, like NE. *laughter*, than that *rafter* had a guttural spirant sound.

§ 23. *Æ* + *G* rimes with

- a) itself and *æg*.
 day : lay, 93, 8. 104, 48. *snaill* : *taill*, 70, 10.
 lay : clay (OE. *æ*), 242, 5.
- b) with *eg*. or *eog*.
 day : tway : say, 73, 1.
 day : play, 126, 32.
 lay : away, 100, 186.
- c) OF. *ei* and *ai*
 lay : affray : 100, 184.
 lay : pray (*prey*), 104, 54.
 lay : array, 242, 2.
 day : pray, 104, 54. 126, 34.
 day : abbay, 314, 9.
 day : may, 347, 20.
 „ : array, 347, 23.
 they (or ON. *ei*) pray : display : 109, 177.

- fair : air, 106, 115. 368, 33.
- d) OE. *æ* or *ā*, + *r*.
 fair : hair, 106, 14.
 „ : sair, 375, 21.
- e) OE. *ae* (not followed by *g*).
 fair : bair, 376, 23.
- f) OE. *a* - (see § 1).
 g) OE. *a* (see § 18).
- h) OF. or Lat. *a* fair : repair, 74, 1. 111, 223.
 „ : preclare, 89, 26. 92, 2.
 „ : compair, 89, 31.
 „ : declair, 283, 10.
 „ : etc., etc.
- k) with OE. *æ* or ON. *ei*.
 haill : taill : *snaill*, 70, 10.

For discussion of *æ* + *g* see under *e* + *g*, § 32; CURTIS, § 135; and GERKEN, § 6. 5).

Ē-sounds in ME. and MSc.§ 24. *E*-sounds in MSc.

- a) (1) OE. *ēā* *e.g.* *rēad* = NE. *red*.
 (2) OE. *e* - lengthened in ME. *e.g.* *stede*.
 (3) ON. *æ*, *e.g.* *sæte* (NE. *seat*).
 (4) OF. *e* = (1) Lat. *a* + *l* or + *n*, *e.g.*, natural (2)
 Lat. *ē*, *ī*, *æ* or Grmc. in position.
 (5) OF. *ei*, *ei*.

§ 25.

- β) (1) WS. *ā* Engl. *ē* Grmc. *æ*. WGrmc. *ā* *e.g.* *dæd* Engl. *dēd*, NE. *deed*.
 (2) OE. *æ* (*i* - mutation of *ā*) *mænan* (to mean).
 (3) AF. *e* = OF. *ee* + *ch*, *e.g.*, *preechier* (to preach).
 (4) Lat. *e* Greek *η*.

§ 26.

- γ) (1) WGrmc. *ē* (including *ě* final which was lengthened), *e.g.*, *slēp* (prt = slept), *hē*, (prn).
 (2) OE. *ē* + *ld*, etc., *e.g.*, *feld* (field).
 (3) OE. *ē* Northmb. *īē* (*i* mut. of *ō*), *e.g.*, *swēte* (sweet).
 (4) Engl. *ē* WS. *ie*. *y* (*i* mut. *ēā* *ēō*), *e.g.*, *hēran*, *hieran*, *hyran* (hear).
 (5) OE. *ēō* = (I.) Grmc. *eu*, *e.g.*, *dēop*, (II.) contracted from *ē ī* *y* + *a*, *u*, *e.g.* *seon* (to see) from
 sehan, (III.) *eo* before (Grmc. *e* or *i*) lengthening consonants, *e.g.*, *leornian* (to learn).
 (6) OF. *e* = (I.) Lat. *a*, *e.g.*, *cler* (clear), (II.) Lat. *ē* or Gk. *n* Lat. *ae* and Gk. *ai*, Lat. *oe*, Gk. *oi* and Lat. *ē* in open syllables, *e.g.*, ME. *procede*, *tragedie*, *repete*.
 (7) AF. *e* = (I.) OF. *ie*, *e.g.*, *grief*, (II.) OF. *ue* = Lat. *o* in open syllables, *e.g.*, *buēf* (beef).

Table of *α*, *β*, *γ* rimes.§ 26a. *α* and *β* rimes.

- heidis* : *beidis* : *leidis*, 79, 17. *deid* : *leid*, 131, 84.
steidis : *deidis* (*dæd*), 246, 93. *reid* (*red*), *leid*, 131, 87.
deid (*ēā*) : *deid* (*dæd*), 363, 103. *speiche* : *streiche*, *leiche*, 308, 31.
leill (OF. *leal*) : *deill* : *heill* : 37, 6. *weill* : *seill*, 42, 60.
speir : *feir* (*fear*), 194, 96.

§ 27. *α* and *γ* rimes. See also LUTICK, *Untersuch.*, §§ 356 and 358.

- speiris* : *weiris* : *effeiris* : 98, 126.
leif (OE. *lēaf*) : *cleif*, 232, 7. *mischieff* : 259, 10.
leif : *breif*, 232, 6. *mischieff* : *beleif*, 262, 83.
 „ : *reif*, 260, 33.
weill : *quheill*, 218, 13. *skeillis* : *quheillis*, 176, 359.
 * *leik* (OE. *lēa*) : *breik* (OE. *ē*), 167, 240. *eik* : *meik*, 271, 35.
 † *zeir* : *cheir* : 33, 4. 246, 110. and *cleir*, 231, 5.
 „ : *neir* : *compeir*, 96, 72.
speir : *deir*, 99, 165.
steir : *deir*, 119, 48. 137, 52.

* *leik*, *eik* from late Anglian *lēc*, *ēc* (Sievers, § 163).

† Angl. *zēr*, for WS. *zēr*.

§ 28. β and γ .

deid (dæd) forbid (æo), 118, 11.

feir (fear) : cheir, 97, 94. feir : cheir, 97, 96. 246, 101.

sweir (adj : cheir, 34, 19. feir : presoneir : 115, 46.

freiris : leiris, 80, 46.

deid : speid, 245, 81. and remeid, 363, 101.

,, : meid, 250, 2. weid : neid, 237, 12. 315, 13.

deidis : neidis, 250, 4.	deid : dreid, 245, 82.
,, : procedis, 281, 41.	leidis : remeid, 131, 90.
,, : briedis, 281, 42.	meidis : reidis, 104, 55.
,, : posseid, 296, 15.	weidis : ,, 104, 58.
	upspreidis : ,, 104, 59.
	shreidis : ,, 104, 62.
	seid : speid, 221, 24.

§ 29. α , β and γ .

steid : reid (rædan) : remeid : pleid, 75, 38, etc. | weill : deill : feill : 75, 26.

This table amply proves that Dunbar rimed these three classes of sounds frequently together, so that they must to his ear have been very similar, and this can hardly mean anything else than that $\bar{e}$ had in MSc. already become $\bar{i}$, at least before certain consonants. This is an important distinction, especially as we notice that in Dunbar there are only six consonantal in the final letters of these rimes, viz., d , ch , f , k , ll , and r . In Clariodus there are also v , m , st , t , s , and p . The most striking point here is the complete absence from both of the nasal n , and the frequency of d and r . One is almost driven to the conclusion that, while before these last two consonants at least e had already the i quality, it had still before n and possibly before m an e -sound.

E-

§ 30. 1. Not before g rimes with

a) itself.

heris (v) : deris (hurts) 270, 73.

beir (v) : speir, 194, 84.

,, (s) (NE. bear) : spear, 194, 92.

b) OE. $\bar{e}a$ (see § 55 and following).c) OE. $\bar{e}a$.

beir : eir, 115, 41.

mere : eir, 79, 6.

forbeir : eir, 251, 34 and 32.

meit (OE. mete) : threit, 251, 11.

d) OE. $\bar{e}$, $\bar{y}$, $\bar{u}$, and $eo = \gamma$ rimes.

speir : heir : deir, 99, 163. 107, 132.

e) OE. WS. $\bar{a}e$ Angl. $\bar{a}$.

meir (NE. mare) : weir (NE. war), 79, 3. eit :

bleit (v) (NE. bleat) : quheit (NE. wheat), 175, 332.

speiris : weiris, 98, 130.

speir : feir, 194, 88. beir (bear), 194, 92.

f) OF. e .

speiris : effeiris 98, 130. 137, 64. smellis : ex-cellis, 358, 12.

g) OE. $\bar{a}e$ (see § 50).

eit : sweit (NE. sweat) : 175, 330.

The e in *beir* (v) *beir* (s) = (*bear*), *speir* and *deir* and also in *meit* and *eit* appears to be lengthened and to have in these cases an $\bar{i}$ -sound (see CURTIS, § 131), with whom I am inclined to agree in spite of all said by Dr GERKEN, § 10. 4). We must again, however, notice that with the exception of *weit* : *threit*, and *eit* : *sweit*, all these rimes end in r , a confirmation, it would seem, of the lightening effect of the Scotch r already noticed in § 29, and confirmed, to my thinking, by such cases as *whir* and *thir* (*where* and *there*), *awir* for *aware*, which occur as often in NSc. In this connection it must be borne in mind that there are in England and Scotland at least three different rs , the South English *trilled* r , with up-turned point of the tongue, the North English *burr* or *slurred guttural* r , and the Scotch *rolled* r , made, like the German, with *down-turned*

tongue-tip. The first tends to lose its *trill* and become almost a mere *breathing*, as in London and South England generally, the second produces the North English *a + r + cons*, from *e + r + cons*, while the Scotch seems to *lighten* the preceding vowel-sound.

§ 31. 2. E + G or CG rimes with

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a) self.
 way : play, 196, 132, 222, 25.
 say : away, 114, 21.
 b) æ + g. (see § 23).
 c) ē + g. say : tway, 73, 2.
 d) ON. ei.
 wey (weigh) : suey (sway), 246, 104.
 aye : play, 196, 146.
 e) OF. ai.
 way : verey, 82, 7. pley : gay, 75, 39.</p> | <p>pley : assay, 110, 205 etc. forwayit : assayit, 110, 204.
 f) OF. ei.
 play : pray, 126, 34. pley : array, 196, 136, 107, 127.
 pley : affray, 196, 147. pley : deray, 234, 14.
 away : affrey, 100, 187.
 g) OF. e or ee.
 pley : lufraze (livery), 196, 140.</p> |
|--|---|

§ 32. An extremely interesting and difficult question demands discussion here, viz., the history of the three sounds, OE. *æ + g* and *e + g* and ON. *ei*. Dr CURTIS has treated the question at great length and very thoroughly, and has arrived at a conclusion different from that formerly accepted. Dr GERKEN [§ 6. 5)], while admitting some force in Dr Curtis's arguments, states the objections which can be raised against his view, and appears to lean to the earlier theory. What we may call the received doctrine represents the line of development thus :—

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{OE. } \text{æ} + \text{g} > \text{ai} \\ \text{OE. } \text{e} + \text{g} \\ \text{ON. } \text{ei} \end{array} \right\} \text{ai} > \bar{a} > \bar{e}$$

Dr CURTIS represents it thus :—

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{OE. } \text{æ} + \text{g} > \text{ai} \\ \text{OE. } \text{e} + \text{g} \\ \text{ON. } \text{ei} \end{array} \right\} \text{ei} > \bar{e}$$

At the first glance Dr CURTIS's theory has the advantage of greater simplicity, and, what is more, it is from the phonetic stand-point much more credible, as it follows what I have called "the line of least resistance." The other theory labours under the disadvantage of being circuitous and not following this line, for the change from *ai* to *a* is not from the back towards the front, but from front to back, i.e., in the reverse direction to that which it takes in the subsequent stage in passing from *ā* to *ē* (CURTIS, § 150). Indeed, the direct transition from *ā* to *ē* seems in itself improbable, so that we should have to insert an intermediate diphthong, *ai*, which would be very like a *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory. But we must now examine the objections to Dr CURTIS's view as collected together by Dr GERKEN (§ 6, 5). See also LUICK, *Untersuch.*, § 282, etc.

The first is "that *ai* and *ei* are often, especially in the North, interchanged in writing, and that mostly in favour of *ai* (see SWEET, *HES.*, § 706; TEN BRINK, *Chaucer's Sprache*, § 40)." "According to Dr Curtis's hypothesis," continues Dr GERKEN, "one

should expect the contrary." The reply to this is, I think, perfectly simple, *i.e.*, that *ei* was already used to express a different sound, viz. *i*, and hence *ai* was written to avoid confusion. His second point, that the transition from *ei* to *ai* occurs in South England, though seemingly a point in favour of the received view, is not necessarily hostile, still less fatal to CURTIS's theory. Indeed, one might almost agree, from the very different fortunes of sounds in the north and south, that the probabilities are rather in favour of a difference than of a similarity. Much the same is true of Dr GERKEN's third argument from the occurrence of the change from *ei* to *ā*; and, moreover, the instances given do not seem to indicate a general law. His fourth objection would only be a serious one if we were certain that the other sounds riming with *ai* could not *possibly* have also come to the *ē* stage so early, a position in so difficult a question rather dangerous to assert. Nor does his fifth objection, somewhat loosely stated as it is, appear very formidable, especially when we remember that poets are often scrupulous that their rimes should appear correct to the eye as well as to the ear, and also that the stringency with which purity of riming is maintained differs very much from time to time, and also with the individuality of the writer. To say the least of it, one would have to know exactly who the poets referred to in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively were, and to what extent the one employed rimes which the other did not, before a serious argument could be grounded on these lines. His sixth objection also cannot be called very weighty, being of what one may call a negative character, as there may be some other reason than pronunciation that withheld the Scottish scribes from conforming to the English fashion of spelling. Still we must give Dr GERKEN all credit for having marshalled a number of ingenious objections to Dr CURTIS's theory, objections which it is to be hoped he, Dr CURTIS, will himself find occasion to deal with a fulness not possible in the present instance.

It must also be borne in mind that to all theories in all subjects, not capable of exact demonstration, there will always be many possible, often seemingly formidable, objections. It is here a question between two rival theories, for both of which there is much to be said, and against which much can also be said. There seems to me more fundamental objections to the elder theory than to Dr CURTIS's, and therefore, so far as I can judge, Dr CURTIS's theory "holds the field," just as the Darwinian theory and the Wave-theory of light hold the field in their respective sciences.

E :

= WS., *ie.*, after palatal.

§ 33. 1. Before ld rimes with

a) itself.

scheld : feld, 134, 7. 195, 114.

feild : scheld, 195, 115.

weld : feld : scheld, 207, 19.

b) OE *y*.

scheld : beild, 294, 61.

c) OE. *eo*.

field : beheld, 98, 127.

d) OF. *e*.

feild : peiled, 276, 37.

The vowel here seems already lengthened.

§ 34. 2. Before n and n + cons. rimes with

- a) OE. or ON. e.
 end : wend : kend : spend, 75, 44. etc., strenth :
 lenth, 377, 65.
 henis : menis, 171, 284. schrenkit : blenkit. 136,
 28.
 went : bent : schent, 107, 145.
 hen : pen : men, 171, 284.
- b) OE. ē shortened.
 ken : ten, 75, 10.
 den : ten : 36, 66.
 ten : fen, 166, 220.
 „ : men, 165, 218.
- c) OE. eo.
 † gend (zeond) : kend : end : wend, 70, 1.
- d) OF. or Lat. e.
 defend : end, 75, 43.
 pen : den, 36, 69. men : pen, 165, 218. 171, 282.
 fen, 166, 221.

- defend : kend, 75, 43. and 317, 42.
 amend : send, 139, 40. and 317, 44.
 „ : wend, 317, 44.
 „ : spend, 317, 43.
 wrennis : pennis, 98, 121.
 schent : went : instrument : omnipotent : bent,
 107, 145.
 bendit : descendit, 150, 6.
 blent (blinded) : omnipotent, 294, 75.
 „ (blended) : hardiment, 135, 19.
 content : went, 130, 57.
 „ : schent, 334, 8,
 „ : lent, 334, 28, and many more.
- e) OE. ae.
 ken : quhen, 75, 10.
 men : „ , 75, 7.
- f) OE. a.
 wrennis : crennis (OE. cran, NE. crane), 98, 113.

§ 35. Before other consonants, rimes with

- a) itself.
 webbis : ebbis, 135, 16. derne, terne, 369, 7.
 bellis : dwellis, 89, 44. 196, 127.
 gekkis : neckis, 128, 17. dwell : well, 70, 8.
 sell, dwell, 352, 25. „ : hell, 386, 4. and
 many such and all words in -nes.
 fed : bed : wed, 77, 13.
 rest : nest : 86, 42. best : rest : 113, 2. 235, 10.
 mirthfullest : nest : rest, 101, 3. nett : gett, 257, 17.
 sett : forget, 357, 63.
- b) with OE. u dialectically e.
 ferry : Canterbury, 241, 38.
- c) OE. y or i.
 bred : fed : gled, 177, 365. dwell : kell (NE. kiln),
 70, 4. dwell : well : kell (OE. cylvn), 70, 2.
 sped : bled : gled, 224, 78. sark : clerk, 176, 351,
 315, 19.
 clerk : merk (NE. darkness), 176, 349. 315, 19.
 rest : llist, 326, 1.
- d) with OE. eo and ON. ja.
 hell : befell, 138, 106. dwell : fell, 42, 50. 43, 64.
 fell (ON. fjall), 70, 2.
 tell : fell, 356, 37. fell : well, 372, 5.
- e) OF. and Lat. e.
 bellis : excellis, 89, 45. dwell : Gabriell, 43, 74.
 dwellis : „ , 89, 45, etc.
 „ : mellis, 208, 6. and many more.
 dress : heaviness, etc., 111, 226.
 distress : merriness, 41, 5. 196, 50.
 increas : lustiness, 345, 40.
 drest : rest : nest, 86, 42.
 „ : west : 136, 37.
 weir (NE. war) : beir (v), 138, 96. forswear, 138,
 90.

- molest : rest : nest, 86, 42.
 revest : rest : mirthfullest : ness : 86, 42.
 best : test : 147, 7. and many more.
 nett : gett : dett, 257, 16.
 sett : pet : 179, 375.
 nek : effek, 82, 32, and suspect, correct, etc.
 derne : superne, etc., numerous similar words, 369, 3.
 tern : „ „ „ „ 369, 7.
- f) OF. a.
 purchass : largeness, etc., 349, 82.
 dwellis : bellis : kellis (Fr. cale = head-dress),
 89, 42.
- g) OE. ea.
 clarkis : sparkis, 315, 18. 102, 21.
- h) OE. awe, contracted to a before rk.
 clarkis : larkis, 102, 25.
- i) ON. ö.
 clarkis : barkis, 102, 27.
- k) ON. a.
 rest : kest, 378, 108
- l) OE. ēa.
 mercyleas : gentilnes, 117, 1.
- m) OE. æ.
 best : lest, 336, 13, and 28.
 bedding : spredding, 175, 334.
- n) OE. æ.
 neck : blek : fek : sek, 315, 82.
 „ „ 82, 34.
 sted : hed, 126, 11.
 feddir : eddir, 283, 8.
- o) ON. ja, e.
 well : fell (mountain), 70, 2.

§ 36. The short vowel *e* in closed syllables exhibits little or no change, and when it rimes with an originally long vowel, it points to a shortening of the long vowel, as in the termination *-less*, and not to a lengthening of the short one. Peculiar to the North of

England and South of Scotland is the pronunciation of *erk* = *ark*, which survives in the modern pronunciation of *clerk* = *clark*. But *er* before other consonants has not in Scotland the tendency, as in some parts of England, to become *ar*. What seems most probable is that *clerk* then, as now, and as was the case with so many words in Dunbar's time, had two pronunciations, of which the poet took advantage, just as in modern English poetry no one hesitates to avail oneself of the two pronunciations of *again* = *agen* or *agēn*.

§ 37. The rimes *nek* : *effek* : etc., instance a looseness of speech, a tendency to speak with as little trouble as possible, which is a correlative indication of that tendency to rapid change we have already noted in MSc. We have it exemplified in the loss of the consonantal *l*, and in the loss of *d* and *b* after *n* and *m* respectively, as in *hinner* for *hinder*, *wunner* for *wonder*, *lam* for *lamb*, etc. How far such a tendency can go is shown in the case of some Polynesian languages which have almost or entirely lost their consonantal sounds; and how far this might have gone in Scotland, but for the invention of printing and consequent spread of education, it is impossible to say. But the fact that these conservative factors were already in Dunbar's time beginning to work is to me a valid argument that we should not expect the same rate of change which had brought MSc. ahead of ME. to continue. And when we consider that not long after, in the time of Knox, education became more general and of better quality in Scotland than in England, and continued so, to a marked extent, up to the time of the adoption of the School-Board system in England, and indeed even later, if not up to the present day, we clearly have the reason why Scotch, which at one time ran ahead of English, should soon after the time of Dunbar begin to lag, and should, at the present day, be behind English in the sense of not yet having adopted such innovations of the present century as the lengthening of the *a* in *pass*, *grass*, etc. These factors, together with the retention of the guttural spirant in Scotch, have tended to keep *h* in its original place, while in nearly every other dialect of English it became and remains unstable, a condition it was tending towards in Dunbar's time, as witness such spelling as *hable*, *habound*, etc.

§ 38. We have here no instance of what Dr GERKEN finds in Douglas of the riming of *ēnd* with *éond* (GERKEN, § 8, 1). In modern Scotch the word *friend* (*fréond*) is nearly always *frin*, which is BURNS' pronunciation when he writes it as a Scotch word "*frien*," as he rimes it with *green*, *e'en*, *seen* (Epistle to John Lapraik, verse 1). When he writes it *friend*, he appears to use it as an English word, and rimes it with, for example, *end* (Epistle to R. Graham); so I think we must regard the pronunciation *frend* as an Anglicism.

Ē, mutation of ō, rimes with

§ 39.

a) itself.
 sweit : feit, 35, 9. 358, 7.
 speid : meid, 352, 33.
 quene : keñe, 284, 17. 117, 11.

quene : wene, 352, 46.
 „ : grene, 105, 76. 353, 88, etc., etc.
 grene : kene, 107, 137. 119, 199.
 „ : wene, 213, 62.

- demiss : semiss, 308, 37.
 b) Angl. ē = WS. ie later y.
 meid : neid, 250, 2. speid : neid, 255, 39.
 demiss : temiss, 308, 37. quene : schene, 92, 7, etc., etc.
 demiss : temiss, 308, 37. kene : „ 107, 140, 110, 200.
 flemit : zemit, 381, 39. grene : „ 103, 45, etc., etc.
 c) OE. ē.
 breid (OE. brēdan) : leid (NE. lied praet. of OE leōgan), 169, 266.
 quene : fyftene, 352, 28.
 „ : betwene, 352, 34, 370, 47.
 „ : besene : sene, 95, 43, etc., etc.
 kene : sene, 97, 88, 107, 143.
 „ : bene, 117, 15, 352, 11.
 quheir : „ 316, 28.
 quene : „ 92, 4, 105, 73.
 grene : sene, 103, 43, etc., etc.
 „ : bene, 105, 77.
 quene : teyne, 307, 47.
 beseik : meik, 42, 23.
 breikis (s) : cheikis, 268, 23.
 d) ON. ē.
 flemit : temit, 381, 36.
 e) Angl. ē = WS. æ and Grmc. ā. (see § 47).
 g) OE. æ mut. of ā = Grmc. ai.
 kene : mene, 117, 12.
 breid : weid, 170, 271.
 speid : meid : dreid, 352, 31.
 „ : seid, 221, 24.
 „ : weid, 221, 24.
 „ : deid (deed), 245, 81.
 quene : clene, 352, 16.
 „ : mene, 353, 64, 370, 47.
 wene : ene (evening), 70, 9.
 shene : clene, 225, 106.
 h) OE. ēa + gutt.
 quene : ene (eyes), 353, 58, 370, 39, etc.
 grene : „ 110, 203.
 kene : „ 110, 203, 367, 47.
 i) OE. ē - see § 30.
 speid : leid, 221, 16.
 steid (place), meid, 250, 2.
 beit : meit, 87, 65.
 feill (NE. feel) : weill, 75, 25.
 k) OE. i.
 (?) bedene : quene, 370, 41.
 l) OE. ē : feill (OE. ē) : weill, 75, 25.
 m) OF. e and ie.
 breiding : posseding : exceding, 364, 122.
 quene : sustene, 352, 28.
 „ : contene, 352, 40.
 „ : prevene : obtene, 353, 70, and 82.
 „ : splene, 351, 6, etc., etc.
 grene : „ 94, 12, 106, 106.
 „ : serene, 106, 108.
 „ : sustene, 110, 202, 376, 45.
 „ : „ 294, 66.
 quene : serene, 92, 11, and 370, 37.
 „ : amene, 370, 37.
 beit : discret, 87, 66.
 flemit : redemit, 381, 36.
 feir : maneir, 106, 95.
 „ : chevalier, 105, 153.
 breid : excede, 377, 73.
 kene : sustene, 110, 202, 376, 45.
 „ : serene, 292, 3.
 „ : splene, 352, 12.
 feir (company) : cheir, 106, 94, 108, 150.
 „ : cleir, 106, 98, etc.
 n) OF. ai.
 beit : treit, 87, 64.
 o) OF. i.
 feir : pleseir, 105, 92.
 p) OE. ēa. speid : breid (NE. bread), 254, 36.*

§ 40. These rimes seem to confirm the view already stated that *ē* had already in certain positions, i.e., before *r* and *d*, and, probably, before *t*, *k*, *ll*, *v*, and *f* become *ī* (or something very close to it), as we may judge from Dunbar's rhyming the three classes of sounds *α*, *β*, *γ* frequently together before these consonants (see § 29). But as already remarked, the absence of such rhymes before *n* and their rarity before *m* may give us just pause before ascribing to *ē* before *n* (and perhaps *m*) an *i* sound at this early period. One reason for this is the almost universal avoidance of the *ei* spelling, and observance of the *ene* form. This by itself might be accounted for on graphic grounds, but there is another reason for supposing that the spelling *ene* could not always mean an *ī* sound, viz., the spelling and rimes of a word like *suffragene* = *suffragane* (NE. *suffragan*), which rimes with 'twane,' 100, 173, and with *meridiane*, *souerayne*, *trayne*, etc., 371, 68. Now, if our supposition that *āne* has already an *ē* sound be correct, in order to make *suffragene* a good rime for the other words, or a correct spelling of the word at all, we must suppose *ene* to indicate at anyrate an *e*

* I follow Professor SCHIPPER in taking *breid* to mean *bread*, but it may mean *breadth* (OE. brædn).

sound of some kind, and not an *i*-sound. It is not, indeed, at all necessary to suppose that *ene* and *ane* indicated identical sounds, for there is always, even in good modern verse, a tendency to a certain licence with such terminal syllables, which have only a secondary accent. Thus a modern poet will rime a word like *infinite* with *light*, or with *it*, and expect the reader to pronounce the word accordingly. But if *ene* already meant an *i*-sound, it could not be used as anything like equivalent to *ane*. My position then is this, that before *n*, and probably *me*, the OE. *ē* had, so to speak, lagged behind *e* + *r*, etc., and thus had still in all probability an *e*-sound, and that later, through the influence of the other words from OE. *e*-sound, it was brought into line with them. A confirmation of this view is to be found in the fact that Dunbar rimes words like *quene*, *grene*, etc., etc. with *sustene* and *contene*, from OF. *e*, which never acquire the *i* sound at all. My position is then to some extent intermediate between that of Dr CURTIS (§ 129) and Dr GERKEN (§ X. 1).

§ 41. We have 92, 15, a false rime between *beme* and *quene*, which shows that the passage is corrupt (see Introduction).

General OE. or ON. *ē* = WGrmc. *ē*, and *ě*, (lengthened).

§ 42. Not before *g*, rimes with

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a) itself.
 he : me, 82, 8. etc.
 me : <i>ȝe</i>, 233, 33.
 ,, : we, 290, 100.
 b) <i>ē</i> mut. of o. See § 39.
 c) Ang. <i>ē</i> = WS. <i>æ</i> (see § 47).
 d) OE. <i>eō</i>.
 <i>ȝe</i> : fle, 139, 15.
 ,, : se, 140, 23.
 ,, : hie, 139, 3.
 ,, : thre, 140, 27.
 he : see, 125, 49.
 ,, : fre, 214, 73.
 me : tre, 82, 13.
 he : fe, 214, 77.
 me : le, 82, 23.
 ,, : fre, 82, 28.
 heir : steir, 34, 15.
 ,, : deir, 77, 20.
 me : thre, 83, 63. etc., etc.
 ,, : se, 121, 21, etc., etc.
 ,, : fle, 233, 232. 87, 35.
 she : se (see) : 97, 103.</p> | <p>the : kne, 97, 100.
 e) Ang <i>ē</i> = WS. <i>ēā</i> + gutt (see § 49).
 he : E (NE. eye), 214, 79.
 f) Ang <i>ē</i> = WS. <i>æ</i> WGrmc. <i>ā</i> (see § 47).
 g) ON. <i>œ</i> (see § 95).
 <i>ȝe</i> : slie, ON. <i>slœgr</i>, 140, 31.
 he : ,, 204, 27.
 me : ,, 285, 8. 288, 40.
 h) OF. <i>e</i>.
 <i>ȝe</i> : dignitie : agilitie, 139, 7.
 ,, : supple : cumtre, 140, 39.
 heir : prisoneir, 114, 16. 115, 64, and numerous others.
 heir : cleir, 140, 38.
 ,, : cheir, 33, 3. 196, 131, and others.
 me : cuntrie, 83, 48. 287, 55.
 leir : frere, 80, 46.
 seir : speir (sphere), 368, 12.
 feir (OE. <i>gefēr</i>) : cheir, 97, 94.
 j) ON. <i>eyja</i>.
 de : we, 77, 7.
 the : de, 295, 79.</p> |
|--|---|

Such rimes as *ȝe* : hie, *ȝe* : slie, dignitie, agilitie, me : countrie, seem also to point to an *i* sound for final *e*, but not conclusively.

§ 43. 2) Before *g*, rimes with

a) = OE. *ecg*.

| say : sway, 73, 2.

Angl. ē = WS. īē.

§ 44. Rimes with

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>a) itself.
 heir (v) : deir, 99, 163, 107, 132.
 steiris : heiris, 267, 4.</p> <p>b) general OE. and W. Ger. ē.
 steill : weill, 75, 25, 137, 78.
 heir : deir, 77, 20.</p> <p>c) OE. ē = mut. of ō (see § 39).
 skeillis (NSc. skeel, OFris. skeel) : heillis, 176, 356.</p> <p>d) OE. ēō.
 skeillis : quheillis (NE. wheel), 176, 356.</p> <p>e) OE. æe.
 ten : quhen, 75, 11.</p> | <p>f) Ang. ē = WS. ēā + gutt (see § 49).</p> <p>g) OE. e.
 ten : ken, 75, 10.
 „ : men, 74, 7.
 fen, 166, 220.</p> <p>h) OE. y. steir (NE. stir) : deir, 119, 49, 137, 53.</p> <p>i) OF. ei.
 steir (steer) : heir, 34, 11.</p> <p>k) OF. e and ie.
 steir (v) (NE. steer) : cheir, 33, 3, 217, 11.
 „ : perseveir, 33, 7.
 „ : maneir, 217, 12.</p> |
|---|--|

It is evident that *ten* had already undergone shortening, perhaps from the frequent use of *tenfold*.

The word *steir* (NE. *stir*, OE. *styrian*) is in Dunbar's time already long, and that is another indication of the lengthening influence of the *Scotch r*.

Angl. ē = WS. āē WGrmc. ā.

§ 45. 1) followed by r, rimes with

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a) itself.
 ȝeir : sweir (OE. swær = heavy, 34, 19.
 ȝeir : feir (NE. fear), 246, 105.</p> <p>b) OE. ēā.
 ȝeir : eir, 251, 32.</p> <p>c) OE. e. See § 33, etc.</p> <p>d) General OE. or ON. and W.Gmc. ē (see § 42).</p> <p>e) OE. ea, feir (NE. fear) : geir (OE. gearae), 254, 31.</p> <p>f) Angl. ē = WS. īē.
 ȝeir : steir, 34, 15. sweir : steir (v) (NE. steer), 34, 19.
 ȝeir : heir (v), 231, 1.</p> <p>g) OE. a.
 thair : fair (OE. faran), 71, 19.</p> <p>h) OE. ā.
 war (wære) : mair : sair, 256, 10.
 hair : mair, 193, 40.</p> | <p>thair : mair : sair, 71, 15, etc.
 „ : lair, 194, 76.
 „ : evirmair, 221, 18.</p> <p>i) ON. æe, ȝeir : feir (ON. faerr = sound), 244, 51.</p> <p>k) OE. æ + g. See above § 3.</p> <p>l) OF. e. ie.
 ȝeir : perseveir, 33, 7. sweir : cheir : perseveir, 34, 19.
 „ : presoneir, 113, 1, 114, 8.
 „ : cleir, 231, 2.
 „ : appeir, 244, 52.</p> <p>m) OF. a.
 thair : repair, 74, 2.</p> <p>o) OF. ai.
 hair : air, 106, 114, 193, 48.
 thair : air, 96, 66.</p> <p>p) OF. ei.
 ȝeir : heir, 34, 11.</p> |
|---|---|

§ 46. Following Dr CURTIS, I have taken *thair* as derived from *pæer*, but it seems more likely that, like *mair*, *sair*, etc., it represents an original *ā* in the form *pār*, as is well recorded in OE. I think, however, with Dr CURTIS, that *thair* has probably a double sound, viz. *ē* and *ī*, as I have often heard the latter sound in modern Scotch dialect, and my impression is that the two pronunciations may be heard in the same individual according to the position of the word. This second form, *thīr*, is another instance of the influence of *r* on the preceding vowel, an influence Dr GERKEN so persistently denies, but which must, I say, be very obvious to anyone who has heard much Scotch spoken. The word *aware*, for example, is often pronounced in Scotch *awīr*. This may also be influenced by the *w*, as I have pointed out, in words like 'swie' (NE.

sway, ME. *sweye*) = *swing*. There seems, indeed, to be a difference between the English and Scotch *w*, as the latter has not the same influence on a following *a* as the English. It would thus seem as though the Scotch *w* lacked the vowel element, or had a different (lighter) vowel element from the English.*

§ 47. 2. not before *r* rimes with

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a) itself.
 weidis : meidis, 104, 55. deid (OE. <i>æ</i> = NE. deed) : dreid, 245, 82. 296, 13.
 uppspreidis : meidis, 104, 59. threidis : meidis, 104, 59. deid : weid, 221, 4.
 sweit (NE. sweat) : bleit (bleat), quheit (OE. hwaete), 117, 330.
 weid : dreid, 239, 11. reid : seid : weid (OE. <i>wæd</i>), 221, 12. gredy : dredy, 372, 57.
 red : cled (see NED.), 269, 43.
 speiche : leiche (OE. laece), 308, 34. ever : never, 118, 4.</p> <p>b) OE. <i>ǣ</i>, mut. of <i>ā</i> (see § 50).</p> <p>c) OE. <i>ē̄</i>.
 weid (OE. <i>wæd</i>) : neid, 170, 268. leidis : heidis (NE. head), 79, 17.
 dreid : neid, 239, 15. deid (NE. deed) : deid (NE. dead), 363, 103.</p> <p>d) OE. <i>ē</i>, mut. of <i>ō</i> (see § 47).
 meit (adj.) : feit, 149, 14.
 speid : weid : reed : leid : zeid : seid, 221, 4. dreid : speid, 352, 31. meit (OE. <i>gemæte</i>) : feit, 139, 13. sueit, 353, 75.</p> <p>e) OE. <i>eo</i>.
 meidis (OE. <i>æ</i>) : reidis (OE. <i>hræd</i>) : weidis : uppspreidis, 104, 55.
 ever : levir, 138, 95. deid : forbid, 118, 12.</p> <p>f) OE. <i>e</i> :
 spreading : bedding, 175, 334.
 leist : beste, 96, 71. speiche : streiche (OE. <i>strec</i>), 308, 31.</p> | <p>deill (<i>æ</i>) : weill, 75, 25. seill (OE. <i>æsl</i>) : weill, 42, 61.</p> <p>g) OE. <i>ae</i> :
 agast : mast, 136, 27.</p> <p>h) Fr. or Lat. <i>e</i>.
 meter : discreter, 202, 9.
 unhelit : conselit (NE. conceal), 355, 23. glemis : breimis (OF. <i>bresme</i>), 103, 32.
 leid : remeid, 131, 8. reid (<i>rædan</i>) : pleid : remede : 75, 37.
 ever : dissever, 118, 5.
 never : „ 211, 22.
 deid : remeid, 363, 101. posseid, 296, 15. procaid, 281, 41.
 lene (NE. adj. = lean) : refrene, 73, 20.
 leist : beist, 96, 71.
 leve : escheve : greve, 244, 45.</p> <p>i) Fr. <i>a</i>.
 agast : trespass, 36, 31. past, 81, 1. 118, 18.
 last : past, 43, 79.</p> <p>k) OE. <i>e</i> - .
 bleit : eit, 175, 330.
 reid : steid, 75, 41. leidis : beidis (OE. (ge)bedu = NE. bead), 79, 17. deidis : steidis (OE. <i>stede</i>), 246, 93. reid (OE. <i>rædan</i>) : steidis, 75, 41.</p> <p>l) Gen. OE., etc., <i>ē</i>.
 deidis : meidis (OE. <i>mêd</i>), 250, 4.</p> <p>m) OE. <i>ā</i>.
 deid : manheid, 296, 12. womanheid, 118, 11.</p> <p>n) OE. <i>i</i>.
 evin (OE. <i>æfen</i>) : schrevin, 128, 7.</p> |
|---|---|

: Angl. *ē* = WS. *ē̄*.

§ 48. before gutturals, rimes with

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>a) OE. <i>eo</i>.
 bene : ene (eyes), 353, 58.
 ene : sene, 352, 52. 314, 8.
 „ fyftene, 352, 34.
 „ : between, 352, 34.
 hie : be, 295, 95.
 e (eye) : be, 171, 290.
 „ : he, 214, 75. the, 395, 79.
 „ : ble, 171, 293.
 „ : fe, 214, 79.</p> <p>b) OE. <i>ē</i> mut. of <i>ō</i>.
 ene : grene, 93, 9. 110, 206.
 eyne : quene, 370, 39, 43. ene : shene, 110, 203. 225, 107.</p> | <p>ene : kene, 110, 203.</p> <p>c) Gen. OE. <i>ē</i>.
 hie : ze, 139, 3. E : me, 83, 43.
 „ : me, 84, 83. 289, 75.</p> <p>d) O. Fr. or Lat. <i>e</i>.
 E : degree, 96, 87. nativite, 294, 74.
 hie : strenuite, 295, 94. E. ene ; splene, 94, 12.
 „ : qualitie, 84, 88.</p> <p>e) OE. <i>ǣ</i>.
 ene : clene, 225, 106.</p> <p>f) ON. <i>ø</i>y.
 de : e, 171, 292. 295, 77.</p> |
|---|--|

* When one forms the lips into the position for pronouncing *w* (or *wh*), and then blows or whistles, one produces either an *u*-sound, as in the exclamation "*Whew!*" or an *i*-sound, as in whistling a high note, and this may be the difference between the English *w*, which gives from *a*, *au*, and the Scotch, which gives from *e* an *i*-sound.

§ 49. There is nothing in this or the foregoing lists of OE. *e* sounds to gainsay the contention that *e* was already, in certain positions, in MSc=*i*, and the spellings *hie*, *qualitie*, etc., bear out this view.

Æ (mut. of OE. *ā*. Grmc. *ai*).

§ 50. 1, not followed by *r* or *w*, rimes with

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a) itself.
heill : deill (v), 37, 2.
sweit (sweat) : bleit : quheit, 175, 332.</p> <p>b) Angl. <i>ē</i>=WS. <i>æ</i>, WGrmc. <i>ā</i>.
breid : weid, 315, 12.
reid : leid (OE. <i>læden</i> = Latin = learning), 221, 16.</p> <p>c) OE. <i>ǣ</i>.
glemis : stremis : bemis, 102, 28. levit : berevit, 288, 61.</p> <p>d) OE. gen. <i>ē</i>, ene (<i>ǣfen</i>) : wene (<i>ē</i>), 70, 9.
deill : feill (<i>ē</i>), 75, 26.</p> <p>e) OE. <i>ē</i> mut. of <i>ō</i>.
mene (v) (NE. mean) : kene, 117, 12.
meyne (v=moan, lament) : mene : schene : greyne, 122, 39. quene, 370, 47.</p> <p>f) Angl. <i>ē</i>=WS. <i>ī</i>.
deill : steill, 75, 28.</p> <p>g) OE. <i>eo</i>.
mene (moan) : bene, 353, 64. meyne (=moan), 370, 47.
glemis : lemis, 102, 29. lene, bene, 73, 23.</p> | <p>mene : bene, 117, 15. mene : sene, 315, 13. 123, 36.
seis : theis, 194, 69. kneis, 194, 86.
see : thre, 194, 85.</p> <p>f) OF. and Lat. <i>e</i>.
les : progress : posses : incres, 87, 51.
„ : dress, excess, 131, 93.
„ : express, 75, 45.
teiche : preiche, 239, 13. 240, 26.
„ : fleiche, 240, 26.</p> <p>g) Fr. <i>a</i> and <i>ea</i>.
maist : haist, 356, 46.
deill : leill, 37, 4.
beill : „ 37, 3.</p> <p>h) Fr. <i>ei</i>.
lene : fene, 73, 8. 245, 68.
„ : disdene, 73, 13.
„ : strene, 74, 28.</p> <p>j) Fr. <i>ai</i>.
lene : complene, 73, 5.</p> |
|--|--|

§ 51. 2) before *r*, rimes with

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a) OF. <i>e</i> and <i>ie</i>.
leiris : Cordilleris freiris, 80, 45.
feir : cheir, 246, 101.</p> <p>b) OE. <i>ea</i>.
fear : geir, 254, 31.</p> | <p>c) Gen. OE. <i>ē</i>.
leir : heir, 325, 21.</p> <p>d) OF. <i>ei</i>.
sweir : heir, 34, 11.</p> |
|--|---|

There is nothing in these lists but what confirms the conclusions of § 40.

§ 52. 3, before *w*, rimes with

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| <p>a) OE. <i>eo</i> + <i>w</i>.</p> | <p>slewth : rewth : trewth, 237, 16 (see CURTIS, 350, GERKEN, § IX. 1).</p> |
|-------------------------------------|---|

ON. Æ

§ 53. rimes with

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <p>a) OE. <i>ea</i>.</p> | <p>thrall : all, 359, 28.</p> |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|

ON. EI

§ 54. rimes with

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a) OE. <i>e</i> + <i>g</i> (see § 32).
ay : say, 114, 20. away, 114, 21. play, 196, 146.</p> <p>b) OE. <i>æ</i> + <i>g</i> (see § 32).
ay : lay, 114, 23. day, 212, 39.</p> | <p>c) OF. <i>ei</i>.
ay : affrey, 196, 145. they : pray, 109, 180.</p> <p>d) OF. <i>ai</i>.
ay : assay, 349, 82. they : array, 109, 180.</p> |
|--|--|

EA

after *sc.* and *g.*

§ 55. 1, after *sc.* *g.* in open syllables not followed by *g.* rimes with

- a) OE. *a* - schame : name, 85, 5. etc. etc. (see § 1).

§ 56. 2, before g, schaw (OE. sceaga), rimes with a + g schawis : lawis, 97, 104.

§ 57. WS. ea + r + cons. a) before palatal cons. rimes with

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a) OE. e.
sparkis : clarkis : 102, 24. sark, 315, 19.
merkis : sparkis, 315, 18.</p> <p>b) OE. eo.
sparkis, werkis, 315, 17.</p> | <p>c) ON. ø.
sparkis : barkis, (s), 102, 24.</p> <p>d) OE. - awe.
sparkis : larkis, 102, 25 (see § 35.)</p> |
|---|---|

§ 58. β) before other consonants does not occur.

WS. eal + cons.

§ 59. a) eal or eall - rimes with

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a) itself. aw : waw, 44, 11. haw, 173, 309. gaw, 173, 311.
all : fall, 89, 20. 334, 9. all : sall, 281, 54.
,, : wall, 115, 59. 371, 73. fall : hall : 371, 83.
,, : hall, 371, 77.</p> <p>b) ON. all. all : call, 281, 52.</p> <p>c) OE. æl. all : small, 35, 18. 89, 46.
fall : ,, 35, 20, 334, 27.
hall : ,, 41, 13.</p> <p>d) ON. æll. thrall : all, 359, 28.</p> <p>e) OE. a + g, waw : draw, 166, 226.</p> <p>f) Fr. or Lat. al. All : clerical : naturall : imperial :
,, royal : victorial : orygnal, 88, 8, etc.</p> | <p>Fr. or Lat. al. All : celestial : terrestrial : 112, 257.
,, stall : cardinal, 265, 50.
wall : cardinal, 361, 75. imperial, etc. etc.</p> <p>g) Fr. ail.</p> <p>h) OE. āw and eaw.
raw : aw, 173, 308.
knew : staw (stall), 276, 31.
waw : blaw, 166, 229.</p> <p>k) ON. øll.
wall : ball, 371, 79.
hall : ,, ,, ,,</p> |
|--|--|

§ 60. β) WS. eal + d., rimes with

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a) itself.
awld : bawld, 352, 9. cawld, 352, 7.
fawld : hawld, 209, 37.</p> <p>b) OE. o. cawld : bawld : fold (OE. folde = ground), 96, 65.</p> | <p>c) OF. au, fawld (OE. feald = - fold) : hawld (healdan) : fawld, 209, 37.</p> <p>d) ON. ald : tald : zald : scald : cald : bald : 275, 6.
zald : stald, 276, 28.</p> <p>e) OE. a + g. gnawld : tald, 277, 58.</p> |
|--|--|

§ 61. In modern Scotch the vocalisation of *l* is complete, and it is quite possible that in Dunbar's time it was optional, as is shown by the inconsequence of the spelling. But the vocalisation of *l* in *ld* in NSc. is not complete, and seems to remain very much as in Dunbar's time, *i.e.*, it may be pronounced either way.

Dr GERKEN [§ 3, 2)] says that Douglas sounded the *l* before *t* as a consonant, and cites the rime salt (OE. sealt) : *exalt*. But this seems to me no proof, as *exalt* might also be pronounced then, as now, with vocalised *l*.

EA

§ 62. = Grmc. au. not followed by w or gutt., rimes

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a) with itself.
deid (dead) reid (red) 131, 84. heid, 243, 21.
reid : heid : 95, 50.</p> <p>b) OE. e- see § 30.
deid (death) : steid (place), 379, 136. grete (great) :
etc., 310, 21.</p> <p>c) ON. ae. see § 53 a.</p> <p>d) Angl. ē WS. æe see § 47.</p> <p>e) OE. æ mut. of ā (see § 50).</p> | <p>f) OE. e : merciless : gentleness : lustiness, 117, 1.</p> <p>g) Gen. OE. etc. ē. heir : neir (NE. near), 330, 35.</p> <p>h) OF. e. deid : remeid, 131, 84. 363, 10. Est : est (Lat.) 367, 6.
reid : ,, 131, 90. les : expres, 175, 45.
les : incres, 87, 50. 132, 96. progres : posses, 87, 55. dress, 131, 93. excess, 131, 96.</p> <p>i) OF. ei. deid (NE. death) : feid (NE. feud), 363, 100.</p> |
|--|--|

§ 63. $\overline{EA}$. + w., rimes with

a) itself. shewis : schrewis : few is, 252, 51.

b) OE. $\bar{a}$ + w. Schawin : knawin, 355, 13.

EO-

§ 64. rimes with

a) self. ellevin : hevin, 139, 1.
hevin : sevin, 43, 65, 71, 26, etc.

b) OE. e - hevin : uneven, 246, 96.

sevin :
" : stevyne, 371, 54.c) Angl. $\bar{e}$ WS. i and $\bar{y}$.

hevin : allevin (?), 240, 1.

sevin : " (?), " , 2.

d) ON. e :

sevin : nevyne, 371, 58.

e) OE. $\bar{e}\bar{a}$ + g (see § 56).

fe : E, 214, 79.

f) OF. or Lat. u. schute : refute, 109, 181.

g) OF. ou.

schute : rebute, 109, 181.

h) OF. ui.

schute : pursuite, 109, 182.

j) ON. $\bar{o}$.

schute : rute, 109, 184.

§ 65. *Allevin*, 240, 1 is derived by JAMIESON from OE. *ālēfan*, but there is the difficulty that it is a weak verb; but it is not impossible that it was formed on analogy. If once the form occurred, the fact that it is one of the very few rimes to *hevin*, *sevin* and *elevin*, would encourage the use of it, and the form might thus become fixed. A possible derivation from the OF. *allever*, which might give a similar sense of allow or admit, has somewhat the same objection; but perhaps a loan word admits more readily of false inflexion, if, indeed, it can be called false, than a native word. It might be a form of *ellevin* (eleven), but that it makes *absolutely no sense* in this passage.

EO :

§ 66. 1. before r + cons. rimes with

a) itself. carvit : starvit, 222, 21.

b) OE. ea. Angl. a (r + cons.) (see § 57).

c) OE. i or y.

werkis : merkis, 315, 19. dirk : kirk : mirk, 86, 15.

wirk : " , " , 86, 20.

d) OE. or ON. e

werkis : sarkis, 315, 19.

e) OF. or Lat. e

carvit : starvit : desarvit, 222, 21.

f) OF. or Lat. a.

§ 67. It seems more probable that *carvit*, *starvit*, *desarvit* were pronounced with *e* sound, as is usual in NSc., than that they had the North E. *a* sound.

§ 68. 2. not before r + con., rimes with

a) with itself, wilk : milk : silk, 86, 22.

b) with OE. i. milk : wilk : silk : ilk, 86, 22.

 $\overline{EO}$

(1)=Gmc. eu. (2) contraction from $\check{e}$. $\check{i}$. $\check{y}$., with following a or u through dropping of intermediate h or j.

§ 69. 1. not followed by w or g, rimes with

a) itself.

he : see : 124, 35, etc., etc. bee, 248, 8. kne, 261, 61.

" : ble, 171, 293. kne : se, 97, 100, etc., etc.

threis : kneis, 173, 300.

fe : fre, 214, 73.

kne : thre, 194, 85.

b) OE. $\bar{eo}$ + gutt (see § 71).

be : hie, 295, 90. he : dre, 354, 2.

theis : kneis, 194, 70. fle : se, 196, 128.

c) general OE. or ON. $\bar{e}$ (see § 42).

be : he, 251, 23. se : the, 97, 103.

kne : the, 97, 103. se : me, 124, 19, etc., etc.

fre : he, 214, 75. tre : me, 82, 13, etc., etc.

d) OE. $\bar{e}$, Angl. $\bar{e}$, mut of $\bar{o}$ (see § 39).e) Angl. $\bar{e}$ WS. $\bar{ae}$ (see § 45).f) OE. ae mut of $\bar{a}$ (see § 50).g) Angl. $\bar{e}$ = WS. $\bar{ae}$ (see § 45).

- | | |
|---|---|
| i) OE. <i>ā</i> . See § 20. | OF. <i>ieu</i> . <i>se</i> : <i>parde</i> , 195, 120. |
| k) OE. <i>ēa</i> + <i>g. fe</i> : E. (NE. <i>eye</i>), 214, 79. | s) OF. <i>i</i> . <i>be</i> : <i>supple</i> , 250, 8. |
| l) OE. or ON. <i>ē</i> (see § 42). | tyred (OE. <i>tēōrian</i>) : <i>requyred</i> : <i>expyred</i> , 251, 17. |
| m) ON. See § 96. | tyre : <i>inspyre</i> , 266, 93. |
| n) OE. <i>ik</i> or ON. <i>ig</i> . | t) OE. <i>æ</i> (see § 50). |
| <i>sie</i> (see) : <i>bysselye</i> , 124, 40. | <i>seis</i> : <i>kneis</i> : 194, 69, and 86. |
| o) OF. or Lat. <i>e</i> , or earlier <i>ie</i> . | u) ON. <i>eyj</i> . |
| r) <i>be</i> : <i>petie</i> , 119, 41. <i>scurrilite</i> , 154, 58. | <i>de</i> : <i>be</i> , 172, 295. 251, 33. |
| ,, : <i>importunitie</i> , 245, 76. 249, 23 and others. | ,, : <i>se</i> , 195, 128. |
| <i>se</i> : <i>gree</i> , 123, 5. <i>quantite</i> , 196, 153. | v) ON. <i>œ</i> (see § 95). |

This list, taken along with some of the foregoing, seems to confirm the idea that MSc. final *e* was already an *i* sound.

§ 70.—EÓ. + W. = Grmc. *iu*j, *iw*.

- | | |
|---|--|
| a) with itself. | d) OF. and Lat. <i>u</i> . <i>trow</i> : <i>Jesu</i> , 361, 59. |
| <i>blew</i> : <i>new</i> : <i>hew</i> , 94, 16. <i>new</i> : <i>flew</i> (<i>praet.</i>), 251, 37. | e) OF. <i>ü</i> , <i>hew</i> : <i>vertew</i> , 345, 34. |
| <i>tnew</i> : <i>hew</i> : <i>rew</i> , 117, 10. 345, 37. <i>hew</i> : <i>grew</i> , 135, 24 (see under <i>uw</i> , § 103). | f) Fr. <i>eu</i> , <i>ieu</i> , <i>hew</i> : <i>persew</i> , 117, 6. 347, 12. |
| b) OE. <i>ū</i> (see § 104). | <i>trew</i> : <i>rew</i> : „ 262, 82. |
| c) OE. <i>æw</i> (see § 53). | g) Fr. <i>ive</i> . <i>new</i> : <i>eschew</i> (OF. <i>eschever</i> , <i>eschiver</i>), 221, 9. |
| | h) OE. <i>ūll</i> . <i>zow</i> : <i>fow</i> , 38, 18. |

§ 70a.—EÓ. + *g* or *h*, rimes with

- | | |
|---|---|
| a) OE. <i>eo</i> , without guttural. | c) OE. and gen. <i>ē</i> , <i>le</i> (<i>leōgan</i>) : <i>me</i> , 82, 23. <i>fe</i> : <i>he</i> , 214, 75. <i>hie</i> : <i>me</i> , 84, 83. 289, 75. <i>ze</i> , 139, 3. |
| <i>dre</i> (<i>dreogan</i>) : <i>be</i> , 354, 2. <i>fe</i> (<i>feoh</i>) : <i>fre</i> , 214, 73. | d) OF. <i>e</i> . |
| <i>theis</i> : <i>kneis</i> , 194, 70. <i>hie</i> (<i>hēoh</i>) : <i>he</i> , 295, 95. | <i>hie</i> : <i>strennite</i> , 295, 94. <i>le</i> (<i>leōgan</i>) : <i>gre</i> , 204, 33. |
| b) OE. <i>æ</i> , <i>seis</i> : <i>theis</i> , 194, 69. | e) OE. <i>ea</i> + <i>g. fe</i> : E (NE. <i>eye</i>), 214, 77. |

I-

§ 71. not followed by *c* or *g*, rimes with

- | | |
|--|--|
| a) itself. <i>schittin</i> : <i>wittin</i> , 174, 323. | c) OE. <i>e</i> . <i>beschittin</i> , <i>sittin</i> , 137, 70. |
| b) OF. or Lat. <i>i</i> , <i>hidd</i> er : <i>consider</i> , 43, 84. | |

Into the interesting controversy over the fortunes of OE. *i* and *y* in open syllables so elaborately treated by Dr CURTIS (§ 361, etc.), and by Professor LUICK (§ 381, etc., §§ 515 and 530), and carefully summed up by Dr GERKEN, I do not propose to enter at any length, especially as Dunbar's meagre rime-list above throws no fresh light on the subject. As to the quality of the OE. *i*-sound, is not Dr CURTIS (following ELLIS, EEP., p. 105) going rather far in asserting that this sound is *in all cases* not a pure *i*-sound, but partakes of the *e* quality, as in NE? Is it not more likely that the case in Anglo-Saxon was, as in modern German, that the sound varied according to the adjacent consonants? I found this remark on what I have observed in teaching German students English, viz., on a tendency they have to introduce the pure *i*-sound in certain words, but not in others. I have often had to correct them for introducing it into a word like *with*, but have never noticed it in words like *in*, *sin*, *wind*, etc. I have unfortunately made no notes on this point, but I think there is no doubt that this sound tends to vary according to the following consonant. In modern English we have practically no pure *i*-sound, but in Scotch we have it in words like *wi* (*with*), *pity*, *city*, etc., though the last two words have often a long vowel. Better examples would be the forms *pitiful*,

citizen, which a Scotchman will usually pronounce with a pure *ɪ*-sound in the first syllable.

I :

§ 72. not followed by *ld*, *nd*, *ng*, *ht*, *g* or *c*, rimes with

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a) itself.
 <i>is</i> : <i>miss</i>, 75, 23. <i>this</i>, 75, 22.
 <i>his</i> : <i>iwis</i>, 335, 32.
 <i>is</i> : <i>bliss</i>, 42, 36.
 <i>is</i> : <i>his</i>, 335, 32.
 <i>widdy</i> : <i>smydy</i>, 223, 56.
 <i>will</i> : <i>still</i>, 115, 45.
 <i>bit</i> : <i>spit</i>, 137, 54. <i>upsit</i>, 137, 51.
 <i>it</i> : <i>wit</i>, 283, 4. 249, 28.
 <i>billie</i> : <i>illwillie</i> : <i>quhillylillie</i>, 39, 31.
 <i>chitterlilling</i> : <i>rilling</i> : <i>schilling</i>, 178, 371.
 <i>win</i> : <i>skin</i>, 36, 60. 233, 21.
 <i>„</i> : <i>within</i>, 233, 22.
 <i>„</i> : <i>ryn</i>, 310, 9.
 <i>„</i> : <i>pin</i>, 317, 34.
 <i>drink</i> : <i>wink</i>, 211, 16.
 <i>innys</i> : <i>schinnis</i>, 202, 13.
 <i>begin</i> : <i>in</i>, 43, 89.
 <i>drink</i> : <i>sink</i>, 279, 13.
 <i>grippis</i> : <i>lippis</i>, 207, 18.
 <i>schippis</i> : <i>lippis</i>, 206, 3.
 <i>kirk</i> : <i>stirk</i>, 261, 66.
 <i>will</i> : <i>thrill</i>, 325, 12.
 b) OE. <i>y</i> (later <i>i</i> or <i>ii</i>) (see § 105, §§ 107 and 109).
 c) OE. <i>e</i>. (?) <i>flint</i> : <i>hint</i> (NE. <i>hent</i>), 224, 80.</p> | <p><i>unblast</i> : <i>brist</i> (NE. <i>burst</i>), 138, 99.
 d) ON. <i>y</i> (shortened) (see § 111).
 e) Fr. or Latin <i>e</i>.
 <i>win</i> : <i>gin</i>, 317, 34.
 <i>stink</i> : <i>ink</i>, 150, 10.
 f) Fr. or Lat. <i>i</i>.
 <i>grippis</i> : <i>ecclippis</i>, 151, 14.
 <i>mist</i> : <i>solist</i>, 75, 27.
 <i>clippis</i> : <i>lippis</i>, 193, 55. 206, 5.
 <i>unblast</i> : <i>resist</i>, 138, 99.
 <i>bit</i> : <i>spit</i> : <i>quit</i>, 137, 54.
 <i>wit</i> : <i>it</i> : <i>unquit</i>, 249, 41.
 g) Fr. or Lat. <i>u</i>.
 <i>widdy</i> (NE. <i>halter</i>) : <i>smydy</i> : <i>study</i>, 223, 48.
 <i>will</i> : <i>still</i> : <i>bill</i> (Lat. <i>Bulla</i>), 115, 42.
 h) OE. <i>eo</i> (see § 66).
 i) ON. <i>i</i>.
 <i>still</i> : <i>will</i> : <i>till</i>, 115, 44.
 <i>will</i> : <i>ill</i>, 239, 17. 325, 13.
 <i>will</i> : <i>till</i>, „ „
 <i>still</i> : <i>ill</i>, 325, 15.
 k) Du. <i>i</i>.
 <i>stink</i> : <i>clink</i>, 151, 16.
 <i>skippis</i> : <i>lippis</i>, 206, 8.</p> |
|---|---|

There is not much calling for remark in this rime-list. That there is a tendency, however, as shown still in NSc. for *ɛ* and *i* to be assimilated or interchanged, cannot be doubted, and before *n* + consonant the *i* prevails, especially before *ng* and *nk*, as in NE. in the words *English*, *engine*, etc., and in *ink*. It seems most probable that in Dunbar's time the pronunciation varied, as in modern Scotch dialect. The Irish dialect of to-day leans strongly to the *i*, as in *stringth* for *strength*. *Study* had probably a short *ü* sound = NSc. *ui* as in *guid*, a sound, when quickly spoken, not easily distinguished from *ɪ*. The words *bit* and *grip* I have classed according to the Anglian forms *bit* and *grip*, and not the WS. *bite* and *gripe*. We have in NE. the corresponding forms *bit*, *grip*, *bite*, *gripe*. (See *Archiv.*, cii. 73.)

§ 73. 2. I : before *nd* rimes with

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a) itself.
 <i>behind</i> : <i>fynd</i> : <i>bind</i> : <i>blind</i>, 87, 72.</p> | <p><i>behind</i> : <i>lind</i>, 174, 324. <i>wind</i>, 194, 67.
 <i>„</i> : <i>„</i> : <i>bind</i> : <i>find</i>, 192, 12.</p> |
|--|--|

§ 74. It is remarkable how sharply Dunbar discriminates between *i* + *nd* and *y* + *nd*. The reason seems to be that *y* + *nd* had been lengthened to a diphthong, since it rimes with *ȳ* + *nd*; and *i* + *nd* was not generally lengthened as in ME. The lengthening of *behind* for Scotch *ahint*, the only word in the list that has a long sound in NSc., must have taken place later through English influence (see under Y.). This view is accepted and, I think, rendered still more probable, in spite of all that is said on the other side by HEUSER (*Anglia*, XIX. 404) and by Dr GERKEN (§ 13, 2)]. (See also § 108.)

§ 75. 3. i + c rimes with

- | | |
|---|---|
| a) ON. $\bar{y}$.
I : sky, 192, 15.
b) OF. i or ie.
I : cry, 118, 7. 192, 27.
I : bellamy, 192, 26.
I : Lombardy, 195, 102.
c) OF. e.
I : army, 195, 101. | d) OE. or ON. $\bar{i}$.
I : by, 279, 24.
purspyk : lyk, 177, 366. 307, 12. tyk (ON. tik),
177, 366.
e) OE. $\bar{y}$ + g.
I : dry, 96, 70.
f) ON. i + k.
flicker : sicker : wicker : bickarr, 212, 41. |
|---|---|

§ 76. 4. i + g rimes with

- | | |
|---|--|
| a) itself.
dughtý : worthý, 292, 20. wry (?) 172, 303.
b) OF. i and ie.
dughtý : worthý : cry, 292, 20.
style (stíle) : vyll, 86, 38.
purspyk : heretyk : lunatyk, 179, 375.
nyne : devyne, 42, 31. | c) OE. $\bar{e}$ = WS $\bar{e}$.
worthy : nye, 90, 52.
d) ON. i + g.
worthy : prudently, 90, 50.
e) OE. i.
styll (NE. stíle) : wyll, 86, 38. |
|---|--|

§ 77. i + ld. rimes with

- | | |
|--|---|
| a) OE. $\bar{y}$.
wyld : fyld, 167, 237
b) OF. i. | c) OE. $\bar{e}$ = WS $\bar{e}$.
begyled : wyld, 167, 237.
d) Gk. v.
styled : wyld, 167, 237. |
|--|---|

It is difficult to say whether the long *i* and *y* in MSc. represented a diphthongal sound at this time, or merely a long *i* sound. But the occasional use of such rimes as *styll*, which is now and was, probably, on account of the absorbed *g*, also then long, with the undoubted short *wyll* (unless *wyll* be also long, being NE. *wile*, *device*, and not NE. *will*), might incline us to the idea that the sound was not yet diphthongal, because in that case the rime would be a bad one, and not merely an imperfect one, like in quality, but differing in quantity. Before *ld* we have the usual lengthening of the vowel.

§ 78. ON. i + g. (terminations *ly* and *lie*) rimes with

- | | |
|---|--|
| a) OE. ig. (see 76).
womanly : ly, 243, 29.
b) OE. $\bar{i}$.
hairtfully : by, 72, 36.
lustily : „ 104, 53.
wretchitly : „ 251, 21.
c) OE. i + c.
I : womanly, 279, 23.
d) OE. $\bar{e}$ o. (see 69).
besalie : mischeifaislie : see, 118, 17.
e) OE. $\bar{a}$ e. (see § 21.)
f) OF. i and ie.
lustely : fantesy, 104, 49.
wretchitly : fy, 251, 24. | womanly : cry, 279, 27. malady : veraly : hestely,
261, 59.
h) OF. iue? or Spanish guia.
guye : prudently, 90, 53.
gy : womanly, 279, 11.
i) ON. i.
airly : harbry, 71, 14.
k) OE. $\bar{y}$ + g.
airly : dry, 71, 16.
hairtfully : dry, 72, 37.
l) ON. $\bar{y}$.
lustely : sky, 104, 50.
m) OE. i + g. wy (OE. wiga) : womanly, 279, 11.
n) OE. $\bar{y}$.
womanly : ky (NE. cattle), 279, 11. |
|---|--|

§ 79. i + ng.

- | | |
|--|--|
| a) with itself in all participles and verbal nouns,
which also rime with Fr. ign and ring : sing,
94, 30. 215, 105.
ring : thing, 215, 113. bring, 215, 111.
spring : nothing : inbring, 108, 161.
b) Fr. ign.
bening : sing : thing, 368, 28.
ring, 94, 33. sing, 94, 30, etc., etc. | c) O.Nhumb. i—WS. eo.
zing : spring, 99, 151. 108, 154.
zing : sing, 111, 245. thing, 370, 17. thring, 370, 17.
d) OE. e + ng.
ring : sprynge (dance), 215, 19.
e) OF. egn.
inbring : ryng (reign), 390, 19. |
|--|--|

Words in ight : icht : yght : ycht.

§ 80. The vowel spelt *i* or *ȳ* has in these words various origins.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. OE. <i>ie</i>, <i>i</i>, < <i>eo</i> = Grmc. <i>i</i>, <i>ë</i> : knight, right, bright, wight (person), sight, plight, fight. 2. OE. <i>i</i> < <i>ea</i>. (Northmb., <i>æ</i>).
night : might (sb and vb). 3. OE. <i>i</i> = Lat. <i>i</i>.
dight. 4. OE. <i>eo</i> (with later palatalisation) = Grmc. <i>i</i>.
light (adj. and adv.). | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. OE. <i>i</i>.
alight vb. 6. OE. <i>ē</i> : Ang. <i>ē</i> mut. of <i>eo</i> <i>ēa</i> : light (vb.), hight. 7. OE. <i>eo</i> (with later palatalisation) = Grmc. <i>iu</i> : light, (sb.). 8. OE. <i>y</i> mut. of <i>u</i> : flight. 9. ONthmb, <i>e</i> in reduplic. pret. hight. 10. ON. <i>i</i>. wight (adv. ON. <i>vigr</i>). |
|--|--|

§ 81. Dunbar rimes these sounds only among themselves, with one remarkable exception. In the poem "In Honour of the City of London" he rimes (89, 35) *knȳght* and *white*, and this seems to me to point to the fact that in England, or at least in London, these words had already (1501) like sounds. That is to say, the guttural spirant has disappeared in England, but not in Scotland. But it is curious that the one exception given by Dr CURTIS as occurring in Clariodus, is *plicht* and *quhyte* (white). Yet *white* can have had no exceptional pronunciation, seeing how consistently and frequently it rimes with pure *it* sounds.

§ 82. Present participles and verbal nouns in *ing* rime only among themselves with OE. words in *ing*, and with the Fr. *ign* adjectival endings as *benign* and *malign* (see § 79).

§ 83. Pres : part in *and* (see § 5).

OE. or ON. *ī*. (including *ī + g*)

§ 84. rimes with

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a) itself.</p> <p>rydand : bydand, 218, 33.
 abyde : besyde, 196, 159.
 byd : besyde, 126, 29. 330, 37.
 betyd : syd, 177, 365.
 wyd : besyde, 330, 36.
 glyde : syde, 137, 67.
 blyth : wryth, 196, 121.
 " : swyth, 304, 9.
 syne (sippen) : myne, 214, 81.
 beschitten : sitten, 137, 70.
 bakbytting : flytting, 151, 22.
 swyne : myne, 214, 85.
 Ryne : wyne, 42, 53.
 wyiss (adj.) : wpryse, 234, 11.
 wyiss (sb.) syss, 106, 101.
 syss : ryp, 106, 101.
 gryss (NE. grice, ON. gríss) : unwyse, 319, 59.
 dryfer : ryver : ȝadswyver, 178, 374.
 smyle (NE. smile, deriv. uncertain) (?) : quhyle, 94, 36.
 yle : (?) quhyle, 265, 61.
 wyd : byd, 330, 36.
 ryd : slyd : abyd, 125, 4.
 stryd : syd, 194, 75.
 Fyf (Fifeshire) : lyf : wyf, 197, 161.
 lyfe : swyfe, 83, 67.
 " : wyf, 223, 43.</p> | <p>thryff : fyve : belyff, 246, 95.
 smyle : (?) wyle : quhyle : myle, 110, 224.
 glyde : wyde, 225, 112. besyde, 225, 116.
 " : tyde : ryd, 226, 128.
 dryf : lyve, 385, 47.
 fyve : schryve, 358, 9. 359, 18.
 knyfe : lyfe, 83, 74.
 lyfe : ryfe, 83, 66. 377, 91.
 henwyfe : lyfe, 71, 24.
 lyfe : schryve, 1359, 23.
 " : fyve, 359, 21.
 ryfe : swyve, 83, 67.
 friendlyk : tyk, 200, 13.
 lyk : shryke : stryke, 225, 87.
 ryne (NE. fountain, source) : schyne, 370, 12.</p> <p>b) OE. <i>i + g</i> or <i>c</i> (see § 75, 76).
 c) OE. or ON. <i>ȳ</i> (see § 112).
 abyde : bryde, 196, 158.
 besyd : bryde, 198, 157.
 schyne : ryne, 370, 12.
 wy (man) : sky, 219, 43.
 myne : tyne, 82, 22.
 wynis : tynis, 80, 31.</p> <p>d) Fr. <i>i</i>, <i>ie</i>, or Lat. <i>i</i>.
 abyde : provide, 44. 6.
 ryce (NE. brushwood) : pryce : cuvatyce, etc., 310, 31.
 belyve : discryve, 43, 71.</p> |
|--|--|

wrytting : indytting, 227, 15.
 wynis : dynis, 80, 32.
 gryce (see above) : nyce, 273, 65.
 paradyis : wyiss (sb), 41, 3.
 service : „ 255, 2.
 wyiss (sb) : benefice : deviss, 106, 104, 304, 2.
 syss (OE. si) : ryss : cryis, suppyris, 366, 2.
 ryiss (v) : benefyiss, 280, 24.
 „ : cryis : suppyris, 367, 5.
 abydit : decydit : devydit, 383, 29.
 syd : wyd : crucified, 377, 95.
 henwyfe : stryfe (OF. estrif), 71, 25.
 knyfe : lyfe : stryfe, 83, 72.
 „ : stryfe, 129, 31.
 wylis : ilis, 208, 17.
 Syne (NE. since) : inclyne, 375, 6.
 wyne : ingyne : propyne : fyne, 301, 63.
 byd : homicyd, 222, 33.
 „ : provyd, 266, 81.
 depyrf : dryf, 138, 91.
 arrayve : fyve, 385, 47.
 lyve : wyve : laxatyve, 223, 41.
 „ : stryfe, 83, 69, 71, 23.
 myne : fyne, 82, 21.

schÿne : devyne : regyne : rosyne : femynyne,
 369, 2.
 „ : Lucyne : matutynne : crystalynne : fine,
 101, 1.
 wyiss (adj.) : devyiss : suppyris, 76, 67.
 „ : survyiss : cryis, 249, 24.
 „ : curvatyce, 311, 40. ryss : dispyss (NE.
 despise), 269, 63, 280, 22.
 ryne (ON. rin) : devyne : regyne : rosyne : femi-
 nyne, 370, 12.
 abydit : gydit, 383, 31.
 wylis : begylis, 208, 16.
 tyd : gyd, 326, 6, 327, 30.
 gyis : wyiss (sb), 106, 103.
 wyd : gyd, 252, 56.
 syd : „ 327, 14.
 ryd : „ 344, 13.
 e) Fr. ei.
 wyiss (adj.) : pryis (v), 76, 68.
 f) OF. e.
 wyle : quhyle : myle : syle (OF. *celier*), 110, 217.
 grysse : unwyse : dyce : pryce, 319, 56.
 g) Gk. v.
 wyle : style, 241, 41.

§ 85. There seems to be no reason for treating the endings *-ine*, *-ite*, *-ive*, *-ice*, etc., separately. Dunbar uses them sparingly, probably despising, good artist as he was, this cheap method of finding rhymes. But when he does use them, he seems to make no distinction between them and the other long *i* or *y* sounds.

With respect to the pronunciation of the *y* and *i* at this time, it is, as I have already said, difficult to determine it. But in this connection one may ask whether the diphthong was ever quite the same in South English and Scottish. In South NE., and in the American pronunciation, the diphthong is a distinct *ai*, the first element being like the *a* in *father*. In the NSc., the *a*-element is not so marked, and the diphthong is perhaps almost *ei*. In Irish brogue the first element has more the *o* quality and approximates to *oi*, which appears to have been the pronunciation of DRYDEN's time, from the riming of *join*, *shine*, etc., etc.

O-

§ 86. rimes with

- a) itself.
 befoir : thairfoir, 259, 4. forloir, 259, 2. score, 135, 14.
 beforne : borne, 269, 46. „ : forsoir, 329, 8.
 „ : forlorne, 382, 16.
 schorne : „ 194, 82.
 mainsworne : worne, 319, 64.
 borne : forlorne, 381, 6.
 worne „ 382, 22.
 b) OE. o :
 mainssworne : corne, 319, 61.
 forborne : horn, 94, 35.

- toforrow : morrow, 100, 189.
 forlorne : thorne, 383, 30.
 c) OE. *ū* sowp : howp, 74, 27.
 d) OE. *ā* (see § 18).
 e) Lat. o.
 before : decore : gloire : restore : memore : aurore :
 implore : adore : indeflore : desore, 370, 49.
 f) OF. a.
 borne : worne : scorne, 176, 343.
 mainsworne : „ 319, 64.
 g) OF. o rose : inclois, 99, 156. suppois, 236, 22.

O :

§ 87. 1. before ld.

- a) OE. ea. gold : behold : old : told, 89, 34.

§ 88. This rime, like knyght : white, is from the poem "In Honour of the City of London" (see above), and is clearly meant to be read in English fashion, as in the characteristic Scotch pronunciation, the *l* in *gold* is dropped and the word pronounced *ou* (gowd, goud), and is so written by BURNS in 16 out of 36 times he uses the noun or adjective.

§ 89. 2. Before r + cons.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>a) OE. o.
 morrow : borrow : sorrow, 73, 160.
 „ : sorrow, 94, 29.
 morn : thorne, 383, 38.
 corse (= cross) : horse, 175, 337.
 corne : morne, 319, 62.
 corss (= corpse) : horss, 131, 80.</p> | <p>b) OF. and Lat. o.
 forthir, 137, 55.
 hornis : unicornis, 97, 109.
 c) OF. a.
 hornis : skornis, 97, 107.
 horne : scorene, 176, 343.
 corn : „ 319, 64.</p> |
|---|--|

§ 90. O + ht rimes with

- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| <p>a) itself.
 For o + nk see § 9.</p> | <p>b) ō + ht (see § 93).</p> |
|--|------------------------------|

O before other consonants rimes in all cases with

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a) itself, and with
 OF. and Lat. o.
 croce : force : voce : indoce, 379, 2.
 fox : mokkis, 209, 45.
 cot : note, 260, 16.
 throt : „ 260, 19.
 b) ON. o.
 rockis : fox, 209, 47.
 god : tod, 36, 41. 80, 37.</p> | <p>cok : dok, 179, 376.
 god : od, 82, 39.
 c) OE. ō.
 oft : soft, 217, 8.
 d) OE. eo.
 thrott : schot, 130, 64.
 e) OF. ou.
 word : bourde, 202, 5. 245, 84.</p> |
|--|---|

The rimes *rokis* : *mokkis* : *fox*, 209, 45, is a good proof, if one were required, of the silence of the *i* in plurals and in the third person singular in *is*, when it suits the poet's purpose. In the interior of his lines, Dunbar avails himself perpetually of this licence of either treating this as a distinct syllable or eliding the *i*, just as in modern English verse most poets make free with the termination *-ed*, and pronounce or elide the *e* as it suits them, with certain exceptions, of course.

O-

§ 91. 1. not followed by ht or g rimes with

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a) itself.
 ado : to, 75, 36. 356, 51.
 don : mone : sone : soon, 211, 10. 219, 47.
 bruke : shuke : luke : tuke, 111, 228.
 kuke : tuke : bruke, 223, 60.
 uder : muder : tuder, 73, 14.
 udder : fudder, 130, 61.
 gud : vud (mad), 45, 16. 196, 142. etc.
 „ : Hude :, 196, 141.
 „ : rude, 197, 170.
 dois : (?) russ (praise), 260, 37.
 vud : hude, 196, 141.</p> | <p>vuid (mad) : gud, 272, 48.
 „ : blude : ganestude, 377, 60.
 do : to, 73, 22. 340, 37.
 sone (sun) : undone, 116, 89.
 wouke : schuke : luke : buke, 114, 34.
 tuke : nuke : ruke, 132, 111.
 blude : gud, 121, 4.
 „ : guid, 278, 10.
 b) OE. ō.
 toc : smowk (OE. smoca), 241, 43.
 nuke : tuke : ruke : smoke, 133, 120.
 c) OE. ū (see § 97).</p> |
|--|--|

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>d) OE. $\bar{u}$ (see § 104).
 e) Fr. i.
 uther (OE. $\bar{o}per$) : consydder, 356, 35.
 f) Fr. oe, ue, etc.
 scules : dulis (OFr. doel, duel, deul, duil), 316, 23.
 g) Fr. or Lat. o.
 sculis : fullis, 316, 24. bosum : ebriosum, 212, 33.
 h) OF. or Lat. u, Fr. $ü$.
 moune : Joun (NE. June), 86, 30. tone, 86, 29.
 none : tone, 233, 19.
 gud : blude : pulchritud, 121, 2.</p> | <p>gud : blude : pulchritud, 92, 5.
 cuill : muill, 277, 61. stud : mansuetude, 94, 15.
 russ (ON. hrōsa, NE. praise) : dois : refuss, 260, 36.
 dukis : ruikis, 226, 119.
 gud : conclude, 279, 22.
 „ : selsitude, 121, 7.
 j) OF. oi.
 rois : rejoiss, 99, 158.
 k) OF. oui.
 sculis : trulis (?), 315, 22.</p> |
|---|--|

§ 92. The numerous rimes of $\bar{o}$ with itself, the spelling with oi and u as though identical in sound, point to the change of $\bar{o}$ to an $\bar{u}$ -sound = NSc. ui in *guid*, *bluid*, &c. The spelling *oi* no doubt indicates a modification (*Umlaut*) of the vowel, i.e., of the disrounded (*entrundet*) $\bar{o}$, which—not giving a pure u -sound, still converging towards it—may, without straining, be held to give us approximately an $\bar{u}$ -sound. The whole history of the passage of the OE. $\bar{o}$ into a sound which eventually coincided with Fr. $ü$, and is represented by the NSc. ui , is one of great interest and difficulty. Dr CURTIS has treated it with great learning, and at great length, in his *Dissertation on Clariodus* (§ 459, etc., and §§ 468–482), and in the main his conclusions are to be accepted. But at once the most concise and the clearest treatment of the point seems to me to be that of Professor LUICK (*Untersuch.*, § 123, etc.). Dr GERKEN prefers the purely phonetic explanation of Professor LUICK to Dr CURTIS's suggestion of French influence, and no doubt it is the more satisfactory, but still it is necessarily of the nature of an hypothesis, while French influence was an historical fact, probably traceable in other phenomena of the kind, as I have suggested in the matter of the Scotch dropping of the l -sound. But, I ask, is there any reason to suppose the factors in this problem mutually exclusive? may they not *both* be valid? Professor LUICK derives *smowk* from OE. *smuca* (*Untersuch.*, § 469).

§ 93. 2. $\bar{o} + ht$ rimes with

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a) itself.
 thocht : brocht, 115, 58. 248, 2.
 thocht, 330, 5. 335, 4. ocht : nocht, 115, 58.</p> | <p>b) OE. $\bar{o}ht$.
 thocht : wrocht, 138, 101. 248, 2.
 „ : flocht (?), 335, 2.</p> |
|--|--|

After the very thorough manner in which Dr CURTIS has treated the development of $o + ht$ and $a + ht$ in Scotland, there remains little to be said. But it is interesting to note that my table of rimes gives almost the same results as the list of Clariodus, in that only $\bar{o}ht$ -sounds are rimed together. I obtain this result, as does Dr CURTIS, by deriving *ocht* and *nocht* from the forms $\bar{o}wiht$, $n\bar{o}-wiht$, and this, of course, goes to confirm Dr CURTIS's position that *oht* developed no parasitical u in MSc. The vowel in MSc. seems to be short, otherwise it would surely have shown more tendency to get mixed up with words in *aucht* from $\bar{a}ht$ and *aht*, for the difference in the quality is not very great. This difference persists in NSc. where words like *bocht*, *thocht*, etc., and *aucht* (eight), *straught* (straight), etc., are chiefly distinguished by longer quantity of

the latter group. *Taught*, again, in NSc. has usually the pronunciation *tāht*, as has, curiously enough, *dochter* = *dāhter*.

§ 94. 3. *ō* + *g* rimes with

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|
| a) OE. <i>ū</i> . | swownes : rownes, 45, 13. |
|-------------------|---------------------------|

ON. *Œ*

§ 95. rimes with

- | | |
|--|--|
| a) OE. gen. <i>ā</i> .
slie : he, 204, 27.
me, 285, 8. 288, 40. 3e, 140, 31. | c) OF. <i>e</i> -.
slie : scurrilite, 154, 58.
,, : supple : cuntre, 140, 31, etc. |
| b) OE. <i>eo</i> .
slie : be, 154, 63. | d) <i>ea</i> + <i>ht</i> .
slicht : nicht : wicht : sicht, 122, 18. |

ON. *ΘY*

§ 96. rimes with

- | | |
|---|---|
| a) OE. gen. <i>ē</i> . <i>de</i> : we, 77, 7.
the : de, 295, 79. | c) OE. <i>eo</i> . <i>de</i> : be, 171, 90.
de : ble, 171, 293. |
| b) OF. <i>ie</i> and <i>e</i> . <i>petie</i> : de, 119, 28.
nativite : ,, 294, 74. | d) OE. <i>ēā</i> + <i>g</i> . <i>de</i> : e (<i>ēāge</i>), 171, 292. 295, 77.
e) Lat. <i>e</i> . <i>de</i> : me (Lat.), 285, 12. |

U-

§ 97. 1) not followed by *g*, rimes with

- | | |
|---|--|
| a) itself.
spur : dure (NE. door), 281, 38.
thunnir : scunnir (OE. scunian), 136, 34. | bruik : rebuik, cluik, 225, 86. |
| b) OE. and ON. <i>u</i> : .
owk (NE. week) : bowk (NE. bulk, origin uncertain), 38, 25.
cum : dum, 249, 26. 136, 31. | d) Fr. <i>o</i> , Lat. <i>u</i> = ME. <i>ū</i> .
abone : redoun, 243, 17. |
| c) OE. <i>ō</i> .
abone : sone, 239, 9.
lufe : behufe, 348, 56.
dure : fure, 282, 78.
spur : ,, 280, 13.
duke (NE. duck) : luke, 257, 6. 272, 46.
dukis : cluikis : ruikis, 226, 119. | e) Fr. <i>ū</i> or Lat. <i>ū</i> .
dure : assure : demure : future : obscure : azur, 218, 48.
abone : toun, 243, 20.
spur : pure : injure, etc., etc., 280, 13. |
| | f) OE. <i>ū</i> . (see § 103, etc.). |
| | g) Lat <i>u</i> .
cum : sum (Lat.), 249, 27.
,, : tuum ,, 282, 84. |
| | h) ?
somer : skomer (NE. micturate (of a dog)), 168, 251. |

2) followed by *g*, rimes with

- | | |
|---|---|
| a) with OE. <i>ū</i> .
fowlis : owlis, 98, 22.
cowll : fowle (adj.), 268, 28. | cowl : oule, 208, 12. |
| | b) Dan. <i>ū</i> (?)
fowlis : scowlis, 226, 121. |

§ 98. It is clear that *ū* in open syllables was lengthened, and also that it already coalesced with *ō* in the same position. I have followed Dr CURTIS in using the sign *u* for the sound of the ME. *u*, which differs from the pure *u*-sound, as in German *gut*, etc.; but I cannot agree with his definition of the sound, as *mid-back-wide-round*, as it appears to me not to be a *back* sound, but *mixed*, i.e. *high-mixed-wide-round*, or even high-mixed *narrow-round*, that is to say, the *U* or *uh* of Prof. LUICK's Table (Untersuch., § 21). This view seems to me to have the advantage of making the mixture of this sound with *o* (LUICK *oh*), or their coincidence in an intermediate sound highly probable, as *oh* is *mid-mixed*, and thus immediately below either *u* or *uh* in the mouth-position. It is also consistent with the general tendency in English to throw forward

the mouth-position of sounds generally. I throw out this suggestion for what it may be worth, but into the general question of the history of the *u*-sound, as also the *i*-sound, as treated so fully by Prof. LUICK ("Untersuchungen," § 381, and following) and by Dr CURTIS (§ 361, etc.), I shall not at present enter further, as I could not hope to add anything to their results without an examination of a mass of material outside of Dunbar, which is impossible in the time at my disposal. Professor LUICK calls this sound *ü-artig*, that is, a kind of *ü*-sound, and I have merely suggested identifying it with the *u* or *uh* of his table (Untersuch., § 19), whose mouth-position lies immediately behind the regular *ü*-sound. As for *cūm*, see *Arch.*, cii. 57.

§ 99. 1. U : +nd, u +nd, rimes with

- a) itself.
under : hunder, 204, 23. sounder, 247, 13.
stound : dround : wound, 378, 103.
b) Fr. and Lat. o.

woundit : soundit, 380, 26.
dround : sound, 171, 286.
found : pound, 245, 75.

One is inclined here to agree with Dr GERKEN that Dr CURTIS's attempt to establish two classes of rimes here is not successful. The simplest explanation is, and that is borne out by the spelling *sounder*, that *under* and *hunder* have still an *u*-sound, if shorter in quantity than *dround*, *stound*, etc., which retain their *ū*-sound in NSc. *Pound*, again in NSc., is usually *pən*, and this shortening is probably connected with the loss of the final *d*, and consequent shortening before final *n*.

§ 100. 2. u +ng

- a) with itself.

tung : sung, 325, 17. zoung, 357, 64.

§ 101. 3. +m or mb, rimes with

- a) itself.
dum : sum, 249, 26.

b) with u - (see § 97).
c) OE. *ū* (see § 104).

§ 102. 4. before ll, rimes with

- a) OE. *eo* + w.
fow : zow, 38, 17.
b) OE. *ū* + w.
fow : trow, 38, 20.
5. before other consonants.

a) with itself. pursis : cursis, 80, 39.
b) OE. *ou*.
pursis : cursis : tursis, 80, 38.
pursis : „ 231, 18.
c) ON. *ū* (see § 104).

Ū- (OE. and ON.)

§ 103. 1.) followed by w, rimes with

- a) OE. *eo* + w. trow : zow, 38, 17.

§ 104. 2. not followed by w, rimes with

- a) itself.
hous : mowss, 36. 53. crowss (NSc. crouse), 36. 52.
rowmes (OE. *rūm* = rent, property) : thoumbes, 231, 6.
lowd : schroud, 274, 3.
oule : defowll, 177, 364.
fowle, 208, 8. 224, 73.
brown : toun, 310, 25.

sowp : cowp (NE. cask), 300, 45.
bouris : schowris, 102, 14.
b) OE. *ul* : growf (ON. *agrūfu*) : wowf (OE. *wulf*), 36, 57.
c) OE. *ū* + g (see § 97).
d) OE. *ō* + g (see § 94).
f) OE. *ū* :
ws : thuss, 42, 27.

- sowk : owk, 38, 24.
 g) Lat. *ō* Fr. *ou*.
 us : marvelluss, 77, 15. 42, 27.
 bouris : houris : cullouris : flouris, 102, 11.
 boure : doure, 200, 1.
 schouris : flouris : houris, 93, 2. 102, 14.
 „ : cullouris, 102, 13.
 „ : touris, 376, 7.
 cowhuby (?) : ruby, 154, 62.
 toun : doun, 294, 52.
 sour : hour, 71, 28.
 schow : Jow, 375, 9.
 how : Jesu, 378, 102.
 roumes : thoumbes : soumes (Lat. *summa*, Fr. *somme*), 231, 10. 311, 37.
- roun : gown, 281, 36.
 toun : „ 281, 38.
 schouris : devouris, 367, 5.
 crownis : bownis, 34, 17.
 toun : soun, 42, 21. 192, 28.
 „ : renoun, 85, 1. 192, 20.
 „ : crowne, 191, 32. roun (round), 281, 37.
 „ : reformatioun : regioun, etc., 85, 2.
 h) ON. *ū*.
 sowk : bowk, 38, 35.
 toun : boun, 42, 44. 87, 59.
 j) ON. *au*.
 sowp : stowp, 74, 26.
 k) ON. *ō*.
 sour : clour (ON. *klör*), 71, 30.

That the words in the foregoing list have still in NSc. the same sound, viz. *ū*, and have never, as in NE., had an *ow* sound, is another instance of the similarity in pronunciation between the Scotch of Dunbar's time and modern broad Scotch.

Y-

- § 105. 1. not before g, rimes with
- a) OE. or ON. *i*.
 king : thing, 245, 66. 368, 31. ring, 78, 29.
 rimes also with participles and verbal subs. in *-ing*.
 b) ONrthmb : *i* = WS. *eo*.
 king : zing, 370, 19.
 c) OF. or Lat. *i* -.
- king : ding, 296, 8. 370, 15. making, 370, 17.
 „ : syng, 370, 15 and 23. bening, 368, 28.
 d) Angl. *ē* : WS. *īē*, steir (NE. *stir*) : deir, 119, 49.
 137, 53.
 e) OF. *e* and *ie*, steir (*stir*) : presoneir, 115, 80.
 f) OF. *ei*. steir : heir, 378, 123.
- § 106. 2, before g.
- a) OE. or ON. *ȳ* - (see § 112).
- b) ON. lig. OE. *lik*.
 by (buy) : hairtfully : humly, 368, 21.
- § 107. 1. Y : (OE. and ON.) before nd.
- a) itself.
 kynd : mynd, 153, 50. 239, 18.
 b) OE. *ȳ*.
 kynd : mynd : strynd, 154, 56.
- kynd : strynd, 192, 29.
 c) OF. or Lat. *i*.
 kynd : mynd : dyned, 153, 50. 239, 18.
 kynd : Ynd, 192, 31. 265, 66.

§ 108. In MSc. the history of the *y*-sound + *nd* is distinguished from that of *i* in that *y* is lengthened, but *i* is not. In ME. *both* are lengthened. Dunbar, as we see, *never* rimes these two sounds together. In NSc. the *i* remains short in all the words that occur as rimes in Dunbar except *behind*, which is an English form of the Scotch *ahint* (see above, § 74, and GERKEN, § 13).

- § 109. 2. Y :—before other consonants, rimes with
- a) itself.
 fill : kill (kiln), 83, 59.
 dynt : stynt, 224, 76.
 myrtle : girtle, 194, 79.
 (?) gorge-millaris : cartfillaris, 268, 25.
 millaris : pudding-fillaris, 321, 79.

- thin : kin, 254, 17.
 sin : „ 316, 33.
 mirry : wirry, 237, 24.
 mynting : stynting, 150, 5.
 b) OE. *i* : or ON. *i* : or ON. *i* shortened.
 lift (heaven, sky) : rift, 193, 50.

fyll : ill : still, 126, 7.
 kill : ill, 83, 56.
 hill : averill (?), 173, 313.
 will : thrill, 1325, 12.
 din : skin : win, 36, 59.
 thin : kin : win, 254, 17.
 think : stink, 150, 10.
 giddy : widdy : smydy, 223, 44.
 thin : within : skin, 277, 56.
 synnis : begynnis, 128, 19.
 hippis : lippis, 193, 53, etc. etc.
 list : unblast, 138, 99.
 dynt : flynt, 224, 80.
 stynt : „, 224, 80.
 win : tin, 316, 33.
 mirk : kirk, 86, 16.
 kiss : is : miss, 75, 20.
 „ : miss, 365, 145.
 hippis : slippis, 124, 41.

c) OE. e :
 dynt : stynt : hint, 224, 88.
 mynting (OE. myntan) : stynting : hynting (OE. hentan), 150, 4.
 list : brist, 138, 102.
 d) OF. or Lat. é or ie.
 list : resist, 138, 105.
 by (buy) : mercy, 368, 22.
 millaris : pudding-fillaris : gillaris : tutivillaris, 321, 76.
 e) OF. or Lat. e.
 sin : gin, 317, 34.
 think : ynk, 150, 12.
 mirry : wirry : chirry, 237, 21.
 f) OE. y. (see § 112).
 g) OE. eo.
 lift : clift, 193, 49.
 mirk : dirk (dark), 86, 15.
 h) ON. io.
 myrth : girth : firth, 194, 79.

§ 110. *Averill* is given by JAMIESON as a diminutive from *aver* = an old cart-horse, a meaning which fits *admirably* the passage in which it stands, but as *averill* in this sense does not occur elsewhere, it has been suggested that the word is *haverel* (from *haver*, to talk nonsense), and that it means here simply a *worthless, foolish* person. I incline, on literary grounds, to the first supposition, especially as Dunbar was quite capable of *coining* such a word for himself, as in the “Brash of Wooing” and “The Flying,” where words occur which are nowhere else to be found.

In the c) rimes we have again, as in the case of *i + nt*, rimes with *e + nt* (see § 72), but in neither case are they quite conclusive.

ON. Y :

§ 111. rimes with
a) with ON. i :

| lift : thrift, 219, 48.

Y

§ 112. (OE. and ON.) rimes with

a) itself.
 hyd : bryd, 173, 317.
 myce : lyce, 310, 23.
 b) OE. or ON. i.
 ky : by, 278, 3.
 hyde (v), glyde, 226, 128.
 pryd : wyd : besyd, 82, 11.
 lyte : wryt : quhyte, 105, 4.
 pryd : syd, 128, 22.
 „ : betyd, 177, 362.
 skyiss : wyiss, 106, 107.
 hyd : glyde, 136, 44.
 „ : syd, 174, 319, 377, 57.
 „ : byd, 222, 34.
 myce : lyce : ryce, 310, 23.
 myce : wyice, 311, 39.
 lyce : unwyse, 319, 59. gryss (young pig, ON.), 319, 57.

dry : by, 72, 38. harbry, 71, 14.
 kyth : blyth : wryth, 196, 121.
 blyth : kyth : swyth, 304, 7.
 hiddill : riddill (NE. sieve), 213, 53.
 c) OE. y and i + g.
 fyld : wyld, 166, 236.
 fyll (NE. defile) : styll (NE. stile) : wyll, 86, 37.
 d) Fr. i. or ie.
 hyd : homecyd, 222, 35. gyd, 344, 12.
 myce : lyce : myce, 311, 35. gyd : pryd, 328, 38.
 lyce : pryce, 319, 58.
 firit : atyrit : desyrit : inspirit, 122, 31.
 fyre : impyre : desyr, 219, 36.
 e) OE. y + g.
 sky : dry, 96, 70.
 f) OE. i + c.
 sky : I, 192, 13. dry : I, 174, 326.

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| i) Fr. ui. gyiss : skiyss, 128, 11.
fyld : begyld, 167, 236. | 1) OF. e.
lyce : dyce, 319, 56. |
| k) OE. lik : ON. lig.
dry : airly : prevely : hairtfully, 72, 38. | m) Gk. ī.
fyld : styled, 167, 239. |

§ 113. In the rimes *fyld* : *wyld*, 166, 236, we have a long vowel, owing to the lengthening of *i* in *wilde* before *ld*. With regard to the pronunciation of *y* at this time, see under *i*. That the two sounds were regarded as identical is amply proved in this rime-list.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

<i>OE.</i>	= Old English (Anglo-Saxon).	<i>AF.</i>	= Anglo-French.
<i>OF.</i>	= Old French.	<i>NED.</i>	= New English Dictionary.
<i>Lat.</i>	= Latin.	<i>WS.</i>	= West Saxon.
<i>PG.</i>	= Paul's Grundriss.	<i>Angl.</i>	= Anglian.
<i>NE.</i>	= New English.	<i>Northmb.</i>	= Northumbrian.
<i>OFris.</i>	= Old Frisian.	<i>Gen.</i>	= General.
<i>MSc.</i>	= Middle Scottish.	<i>Gk.</i>	= Greek.
<i>ON.</i>	= Old Norse.	<i>Gr.</i>	= Grammar.
<i>ME.</i>	= Middle English.	<i>Prt.</i>	= Preterite.
<i>Du.</i>	= Dutch.	<i>Prn.</i>	= Pronoun.
<i>NSc.</i>	= New Scottish.	<i>S. or Sb.</i>	= Substantive.
<i>Fr.</i>	= French.	<i>V. or Vb.</i>	= Verb.
<i>Icel.</i>	= Icelandic.	<i>Adj.</i>	= Adjective.
<i>Dan.</i>	= Danish.	<i>Adv.</i>	= Adverb.
<i>Gen.</i>	= Genitive.	<i>EEP.</i>	= Early English Pronunciation, Ellis.
<i>Ger.</i>	= Modern German.	<i>Cons.</i>	= Consonant.
<i>HES.</i>	= History of English Sounds (Sweet).	<i>Gutt.</i>	= Guttural.
<i>Swed.</i>	= Swedish.	<i>Palat.</i>	= Palatal.
<i>Grmc.</i>	= Germanic.	<i>Mut.</i>	= Mutation.

The sign > signifies that the sound preceding it is changed into the one following it, as ai > ā = the diphthong ai passes into an ā sound. An accent over a capital letter means the vowel is long, thus : Á means ā. A stroke - after the letter = in open syllables ; a colon (:) = in closed syllables. A colon between words in the lists means they rime together. In the figures the first number gives the page and the second the line of Professor Schipper's edition of Dunbar.

